No. II.

NOVEMBER, 1899

Vol. II.

THE

CONSERVATIVE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY

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THE

Conservative Review

NOVEMBER, 1899

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VOL. II.

SOUND MONEY DEMOCRACY IN THE SOUTH

By HON. JOSIAH PATTERSON

Ex-Member of Congress from Tenth Congressional District of Tennessee

It MAY be assumed that Bryan will be the Democratic candidate at the approaching presidential election, and the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, will be the vital issue. Now and then we note a disposition on the part of Democrats who openly or covertly oppose the nomination of Mr. Bryan, to relegate the silver issue and to bring forward opposition to trusts and imperialism as the paramount party question. Mr. Bryan himself shrewdly joins in the opposition to monopoly and expansion, and would willingly make it a subordinate feature of his canvass, with the hope thereby to conciliate sound money Democrats. It is almost certain that both parties will declare their uncompromising opposition to trusts, and that each will vie with the other in an unintelligible assault on these real or supposed enemies to the public welfare.

[Note.—There are conservative Republicans as well as Democrats who are equally opposed to McKinleyism and Bryanism. In presenting in this article the views of a distinguished Southern Democrat upon the subject of the present political outlook, and of the duty of Sound Money Democrats in the not improbable contingency of McKinley and Bryan again being opposing candidates, the Editors of The Conservative Review cannot refrain from the expression of a hope that events may so shape themselves that that contingency may be averted, and conservative voters be spared the painful alternative of such a choice as our esteemed contributor seems to regard as inevitable.]

Until armed resistance to the authority of the United States in the Philippines ceases, and the Administration at Washington announces its purpose to carry out some definite policy in respect to the government of those Islands, it will be impossible to formulate an issue on which the Democratic party can safely go to the country. It is evident that avowed opposition to trusts, however meaningless, will be common to both parties, and the future is too indefinite to forecast a party issue growing

out of the acquisition of Spanish territory.

Mr. Bryan has all the machinery of the party at his back, and the men now holding office or who are prospective candidates for office, no matter what their individual opinions may be, will subserviently support his candidacy. The silver issue, as the Democratic party is now constituted and allied, is the only one that has any adhesiveness. All the discordant political factions which supported Bryan in 1896 came together on the silver issue, and it is the only common ground on which they can stand in 1900. Whenever this bond is broken, the combination which made Mr. Bryan a formidable candidate in 1896 will fall apart, and then, and not until then, will the Democratic party return to its faith and become what it has always been in the past—the bulwark of the Constitution and the political home of the advocates of equal laws and popular rights. Not only does the very existence of the Bryan combination depend on making silver the slogan of the campaign of 1900, but it will be the policy of the Republican party to aid Mr. Bryan in the accomplishment of his purpose, on the assumption that as long as the Democratic party is committed to a doctrine which enlightened nations throughout the world have repudiated as a heresy, it will never secure the confidence or get the support of a majority of the American people. The manipulators of party policies and party tactics all conspire to the same end and it is, therefore, as certain as anything can be in the future, that Mr. Bryan will be the candidate and silver will be the issue in 1900. It is equally certain that Mr. McKinley will be the candidate of the Republican party.

This situation is embarrassing to the sound money Democrats throughout the country. While numerically small as compared with the following of either of the great political parties, yet, in point of intelligence and patriotism, they include in their number almost every Democrat the party looked to for leadership eight years ago. To-day they are wholly outside of its councils. No Democrat who believes in Mr. Bryan

will look to Mr. Cleveland as a leader, or would even admit him to the councils of the party. Democracy, as now taught by Mr. Bryan and his followers, has for its creed the Chicago Platform, and adherence to that creed is the test of party fealty. While Mr. Cleveland and the Democrats who believe with him, have been absolutely consistent and stand to-day for everything and against everything they favored or opposed in 1892, they are wholly out of touch with their former associates who follow the leadership of Mr. Bryan. Many of them, believing the action of the Chicago Convention in 1806 was an episode in the history of the party which it would never repeat. voted for the party nominees under the delusion that Democrats would all get together in 1900. In this they were sadly They largely contributed to the great vote Mr. Bryan received and by their votes encouraged his followers to believe that they could elect him in 1900. Had the sound money Democrats bolted from the Chicago Convention, as they should have done, and then and there placed candidates in the field, Bryan would have been so badly beaten that the way to reconciliation and reorganization would now be easy. Sound money Democrats everywhere are convinced that the election of Mr. Bryan to the presidency on the Chicago Platform would be disastrous to the country. They believe his election would result in transition from a gold to a silver standard of value, which would inevitably produce a great financial panic, paralyze industry, destroy public and private credit, and bring all the industrial classes to a state of extreme distress. They stand, as they have ever stood, in opposition to the policies of the Republican party. To protection, to centralization of power in the federal government, to the idea that the country has outgrown the Constitution, to extravagance in public expenditures, to a large standing army, in short, to paternalism in government, no matter in what form it presents itself, they are unalterably opposed. And yet, they believe it would be better for the country and the general welfare of the American people for McKinley rather than Bryan to be elected President of the United States.

But the sound money Democrats residing in the South are environed by difficulties which do not embarrass the sound money Democrats of the North. The Race Problem must necessarily enter into the calculation. There is a very large percentage of sound money Democrats in the Southern States, but they will not affiliate with the Republican party as constituted and

organized in these States. They are not of the number who would oppress the negro, but, on the contrary, they are actuated by sentiments of the utmost kindness towards him and would see him enjoy all the rights of person and property under equal However, they recognize that he belongs to a race only beginning to tread the paths of civilization, and is wholly unfit for the exercise of the elective franchise. They are firmly convinced that universal negro suffrage was an appalling mistake, and that it has resulted in great harm to both races. For more than a quarter of a century the white men of the South have asserted their right to govern and have united for the purpose of maintaining white supremacy in these States. On the other hand, the Republican party has stood for universal negro suffrage. Whenever and wherever it has succeeded, lawlessness, corruption, and social paralysis have prevailed. It is freely conceded that there are a great many worthy and estimable citizens in the South who belong to the Republican party, but they are not in control, and a great many of them vote the Democratic ticket in local elections. The truth is, the Republican party, as now constituted and led in the Southern States, is little more than an organization which meets in convention every four years to send delegates to the National Republican Convention, with a hope, on the part of the politicians who manipulate it, to control the federal patronage. These manipulators of Republican politics in the South have no disposition to affiliate with the sound money Democrats, and would regard their accession to the Republican party as an intrusion. They are content with the federal patronage and want no interference with their prerogatives.

So, however the sound money Democrats may differ with their free silver brethren on the silver or other questions pertaining to national affairs, they cannot afford to make a breach with them in State and local matters. Many Republicans in the South who realize the force of what is here stated have voted with the Democratic party in local, and the Republican party in national, elections. Should the sound money Democrats fuse with the Republicans of the South, the opportunity for free and legitimate discussion of national questions would not occur. It would be the signal for an unseemly contest between former friends and associates, which would inevitably result in bad blood, political debauchery, and social disorder. The sound money Democrats of the South are generally either men who have succeeded in the various walks of life and do not seek

official station, or men who have voluntarily or involuntarily retired from the public service rather than surrender their convictions on what they regard as a vital public question. They can afford to be unselfish and patriotic without making greater sacrifices than they have already made.

In view of the certainty of Mr. Bryan's nomination, immediate steps should be taken to organize the sound money Democrats throughout the country. At the proper time a national convention should be called to take authoritative action. There is probably a difference of opinion among sound money Democrats as to the propriety of making even a presidential nomination. Those of the Southern States would, with few exceptions, oppose making nominations for State, County, or Municipal offices for the reasons already stated. However, it is certain they would agree with great unanimity, on the convention taking action as follows:

r. The adoption of a sound Democratic platform, re-asserting the principles of the party as understood and taught by its founders and leaders down to the unfortunate episode at Chicago, and applying these principles to living questions.

2. To declare it to be the duty of sound money Democrats, in the interest of sound Democracy and the public welfare, to use all honorable means to secure the defeat of Mr. Bryan.

3. To appoint a national executive committee composed of Democrats, recognized throughout the country for their ability and patriotism, to take charge of the campaign and see that sound money literature is distributed and the advocates of sound money and sound Democracy are heard in every community throughout the country.

If no nominations are made by the sound money Democrats for State, County, or Municipal offices, the way will be left open for affiliation with the free silver Democrats in all State and local elections. If this policy is pursued the division between Democrats will be confined within its proper limitations and the discussion will be applicable only to the presidential contest.

The course here suggested, if carried out, will be absolutely patriotic and unselfish, and it is especially desirable in the Southern States. When the idea is eliminated that white supremacy is in any way involved in the contest, the way will be open for argument. Then all antagonisms will be avoided and the sound money Democrats can challenge their free silver brethren to make an honest inquiry into the merits of their case. This, if there is any truth in logic, will result in the destruction of Bryanism in the Southern States, and destroyed there it fails everywhere,

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

By HON. J. L. M. CURRY Ex-Minister to Spain

The Story of Gladstone's Life. By Justin McCarthy. Illustrated with numerous portraits, views of places, etc. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. Edited by Sir Wemyss Reid. Vols. I and II. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Capell & Co.

THE first book from a notable man is worthy, in its interest and value, of the splendid manner in which it has been gotten up by the well-known publishers. For this study the author had remarkable advantages which he has skilfully used. From 1853 until the death of Mr. Gladstone, the relations between the men were frequent and often intimate. As journalist, Member of Parliament, leader of the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons, Mr. McCarthy enjoyed peculiar opportunities for knowing his subject in private and in public The book has the charming characteristics of the author in clearness of style, in portraiture of persons, in sympathetic amiability, in comparative freedom from personal antipathies. The account of the great parliamentary rivals, the prolonged duel of the giants from 1852 to 1875, is the very romance of government, and so on scores of pages the reader finds a picture gallery of the men and women conspicuous in Great Britain in the latter half of this century.

The other volumes, profusely illustrated, proceed from nine different hands under the skilful editorial supervision of Sir Wemyss Reid. From their special study of the subject and familiarity, personally and politically, with Gladstone, the writers may be said to speak ex cathedra. The life is narrated with obvious painstaking and nowhere else can be found so full a portraiture of the Grand Old Man. It is not all eulogy, for with frankness errors of judgment and inconsistencies in opinions and conduct are exposed. Numerous and valuable as have been the sketches and studies of Gladstone, both before and since his death, no one of them surpasses this in absorbing interest, in fullness of detail, in graphic delineation of characteristics, and it must remain as the standard work until Mr.

Morley, the selected biographer, shall give to an expectant public the result of his exhaustive labors. It is well-known that, withdrawing from active politics and other literary pursuits, he is in the "Temple of Peace," as the library at Hawarden was called, delving among the accumulated material, fortunately methodically arranged, for the preparation of what bids fair to

surpass the excellent Lives of Burke and Cobden.

Cavour, Bismarck, and Gladstone have been the three great European statesmen of this century. In considering the last, it is not easy to preserve the perspective and a due sense of proportion. He was a many-sided man; in his preëminence and masterfulness he was more than one man; in his capabilities, innumerable living interests, and multitudinous pursuits, he was a hundred men. His was a strong, original, continuing personality, and he possessed what Lord Rosebery, his successor as Prime Minister, calls "an undefinable gift of interesting the public." His dramatic play of features, matchless melody of voice, rich vocabulary, extraordinary enthusiasm, exuberance of sympathies, stores of varied and digested information, well-trained memory giving fulness and readiness of resources, command of irony, sarcasm, invective, and ridicule, faith in the causes he advocated, scorn of those he denounced, passionate concentration of physical, mental, and moral energy upon the matter in hand, ability to think clearly and consecutively on his legs, to talk to children or philosophers, to lecture on Homer, Dante, Wedgwood, art, or literature, his perfect, absolute, complete mastery of every weapon of Parliament warfare, his splendid fearlessness, no dangers too threatening for him to face, no obstacles too formidable, his invincible insistence, his magisterial capacity, aroused antagonisms but enabled him to mold public opinion and governmental policy, and make his effacement an impossibility. Sixty-three years a member of the House of Commons, more than twenty-six years the leader of his party, four times Prime Minister, conspicuous through a laborious and splendid career, the object of opposition and hatred, of friendship and devotion, so prominent that to write his life is to write the history of his country, one may call him the Great Commoner, an unsurpassed orator, by many other titles, but, perhaps, the best summation is that he was a friend of the people, the enemy of injustice and tyranny, sincere, fearless, whole-souled in his application of moral principles—the principles of Christianity—to the life and affairs of the State.

In Great Britain and the United States the instances are not a few of public men who have been governed by high ethical standards or even by religious principles. No one has been more faithful than Gladstone in adhering to the obligations due in all relations to the Divine Sovereign. While free from cant and making no ostentatious display of his religion, he was never ashamed of it. It was not assumed for the occasion, but was an integral part of the man, perhaps the paramount factor of his nature, pervading life and character, so that in public and private his sense of truth, honor, uprightness, loyalty to Christ, had to be reckoned with. Throughout his career, from student life at Oxford to the close, he was spiritually-minded, finding in prayer the best preparation for his public duties and personal comfort and support in varied experiences. Not dependent on mere accessories of worship, he clung with sincere faith to the fundamental truth of man's sinfulness and of individual salvation through faith in Christ. In systematic devotion, reservation of Sunday for sacred uses, he gave to religion the highest place in thoughts and acts. For fifty years, regardless of weather, his invariable practice was to attend morning service at 8:30, and, when the infirmity of age required a change, he would attend Evensong three times a week.

In official life he repudiated the notion that the Ten Commandments had no place in politics and often based his opposition to policies on the grounds of injustice and immorality. His sense of submission to truth and conscience determined his action at several periods of his parliamentary life. In 1845 it drove him out of the Cabinet, and in 1887, instead of crushing the Boers in South Africa, he resisted the Jingo cry for revenge, pursued a course of magnanimity and arranged for good government of the Transvaal under British control. His belief as to the sacred and indissoluble union of marriage dictated his opposition to the Divorce Bill in 1857. In such ecclesiastical problems as the Public Worship Regulation Bill, the Burials Bill, the creation of new bishoprics, University Tests, Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales, one might have inferred from his High Church attachments, his conception of a historic episcopate, of a certified body of truths, "expressed in formal creeds, graced by sacramental symbols," that he would have

remained an intolerant Tory.

In earlier life, an Established Church was considered sacred in its nature, and he would not consent to surrender the *principle* that the nation should be taxed for its support. He

favored the restriction of State doles to Anglican schools, and protested against an educational grant which would be expended in "teaching the distinctive peculiarities of all sects alike in common with those of the Established Church." Even until middle life he was far, says his biographer, from "having passed the narrow barrier of Anglican intolerance," and maintained that certain civil rights should be withheld from those who did not profess the Christian faith. In 1838 appeared his work on "The State in its relations with the Church," the distinctive idea of which was that the State had a conscience, which elicited the brilliant and conclusive reply of Macaulay. At that time, the contention of Gladstone was that the Church of England was the one body "divinely appointed to teach the Christian faith to the English people, and to supply them with the sacred means of grace and salvation." This high mission of the Church involved a corresponding duty on the part of the As a result of profound study, by a process of gradual and logical development, of conviction and conversion, his views in religion and politics underwent such a change that the principle of a religious establishment was abandoned, and it was defended as a matter of expediency. Unfortunately, he never attained the true idea of a total separation of Church and State, which is America's best contribution to the science of politics He made immense departures from his earlier beliefs, and learned that the union of the Anglican Church with the Gov ernment afforded little guarantee for the maintenance of orthodoxy or ecclesiastical order, that relations of Church and State were of less importance than the far more radical and determinative relation of Church and Religion, and that when Disestablishment became a matter of "wisdom and prudence and constitutional stability," there was no just ground on which it could be opposed. When he definitely cut loose from the theory that a State was bound to establish a Church, or give it exclusive support, he put himself in opposition to the most potential forces in England,-to wealth, rank, station, "society," organized privilege, and power, and became the leader of the advocates of religious freedom. After disestablishing the Church in Ireland, he committed himself to the destruction of two other Establishments in Scotland and Wales, and for twenty years was the trusted chief of English Nonconformists and Scotch Presbyterians. Doctor Clifford, in his funeral sermon, while accounting for the singular loyalty of Nonconformist bodies to the person and policy of Mr. Gladstone, said: "Men express astonishment at the admiring love of Nonconformists for this High Churchman, who has not placed a single act on the statute-book which brings any exclusive favor to us. But we have never asked for any exclusive favor, and, as citizens, would not have it if it were offered to us." There is nothing in the lives of celebrated statesmen which is more praiseworthy than this improvement of thought and of legislative conduct on the exciting subject of State Churchism. Perhaps human nature never appears to less advantage than when it shows itself in bigoted insistence upon religious inequality and ecclesiastical favoritism. Liberty of worship arrays against it monopoly, sectarianism, tyranny, selfish claims, proud pretensions, and the last stronghold of wrong to be captured and demolished by the friends of freedom is that held by a favored church and a pensioned clergy. Lord Palmerston said it was a painful truth that there is nothing which mankind resists more stubbornly than any attempt to compel them to cease from intolerance. Jefferson bore similar testimony. As all civilized governments demonstrate, prejudices die hard, and abuses die harder. Direct disasters were predicted from Catholic Emancipation, Disestablishment in Ireland, removal of disabilities from Jews and Dissenters, and the fierce contests in England, Belgium, and Italy, show how ecclesiastical privilege, entrenched in law and society, refuses to relax its grasp or concede a minimum of its unjust holdings.

Gladstone was a kind of paradox and seems to have been made up of conflicting tendencies, of capricious and contradictory qualities. With a "vulnerable temper," to use his own expression, and highly-strung nature, he was at times dangerously impulsive, almost rashly impetuous, easily nagged and badgered by adroit adversaries, and yet, at other times, imperturbable and so cautious and astute and wary in surveying environments that his enemies charged him with craft and dissimulation. With an emotional and imaginative temperament, seeking after high ideals, was united a "strong cross-current of business-like instinct." With wide knowledge of men and close contact with varied personalities, he was exposed to, and sometimes misled by, "the arts of scheming mediocrities." Starting with quite opposite prepossessions, much of his life was passed in unlearning the prejudices in which he was educated. As defender and assailant of the same institutions and opinions, it is hard to reconcile diversities and contradictions. In his earlier life he figured as the opponent of almost all the causes which

he later championed, passing from "the rising hope of stern and unbending Tories" to be what Garibaldi called him "the precursor of Italian liberty" and the leader of Liberal thought in Great Britain. An overmastering sense of right and hatred of wrong led him to changes of opinion and action that cost him a heavy price and tried the integrity of his soul. Strength of will, decision of character, tenacity of purpose, unfaltering resolution to do what was right, made it impossible to turn him from a course on which he had deliberately resolved. The whole pathway upward in politics and ecclesiastical polity is luminous with wise statesmanship, devout reverence for Christianity and a sincere recognition of human rights and of sacrifices for others. In Oxford University, where liberty was regarded with jealousy and fear, he did not learn, as he admitted, "to set a due value on the imperishable and inestimable principles of British liberty," but he afterwards saw "the folly of an attempt to stereotype the minds of men and fasten on their manhood the swaddling clothes of their infancy." Speaking of alterations of judgment and policy, he once said to Mr. Stead, "There is one great fact which is the key to all these changes. I was educated to regard liberty as an evil; I have learned to regard it as a good. Liberty is a good in itself, and the growing recognition of that is the key." Behind all his utterances and labors there can be seen an appreciation of the Rights of Man, a conviction of the moral government of the universe. Mr. Reid, in felicitous manner, brings into view the Bradlaugh Relief Bill, which exempted an infidel from civil disabilities, with which were connected "circumstances almost terrible in their intensity and pathos." The great advocate of orthodox religion, knowing the price he was paying for doing what was right in the blow to his Administration and party, and in the maledictions to himself, thrusting aside his prejudices, pleaded, with impassioned eloquence and inexpugnable logic, for the admission to Parliament of a man whose avowed opinions on religious subjects were absolutely abhorrent to him. Bradlaugh, meeting the son in the lobby after the speech, burst into tears as he stammered out his gratitude for the championship he had received at the hands of one whom he might naturally have regarded as his foremost opponent.

The party of prerogative and privilege, favored by partnership with the Government, is compacted by personal interest and habitual surrender of judgment to rulers. The Liberal party, besides the component parts who concur on great questions of public welfare, attracts adherents, temporarily and loosely affiliated upon single points, or upon matters pertaining solely to themselves. These make their favorite schemes the conditions of cooperation and are ready to retire to their tents, or join the opposite party, whenever their wishes or whims do not predominate. Notwithstanding Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Tithes Act and Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Roman Catholics, generally and naturally adverse to a Tory government, have been difficult to satisfy because of Gladstone's criticism of the Vatican Decrees and of the demands of the hierarchy in educational work. The question of Ireland held priority in all Mr. Gladstone's thoughts, was for years of absorbing interest, because it "goes down to the very roots and foundations of the whole civil and political The Irish cooperated to give a majority on Home Rule and when all other legislation was made secondary to the remedy of their wrongs, but were ready to "bolt" at other times. During 1880-85, when the Coercion Bill was reluctantly brought in, the bearing of the Irish members towards the great statesman, who had been most conspicuous in befriending their country, "was simply atrocious." Obstruction under Parnell was developed into a fine art. Interruptions and disorders went beyond the bounds of Parliamentary decorum. Much embarrassment came from Radicals who, although out of sympathy with the Conservatives, would sacrifice a political program and turn the Government over to the Aristocracy rather than yield a shred of their own convictions. Some of these political philosophers worship the abstract and ideal type of their own cogitations and have no conception of what Burke meant when he said that in politics two and two do not always make four. Some allies of the Liberals made a fetish of their own consciences and were very averse to allowing equal rights of conscience to others. To elicit order and unity out of complexity, to subordinate differences to agreements, to fuse centrifugal elements into a workable organization, is given to only a few of the gifted of the race, and the task put into requisition all the capabilities of the "old parliamentary hand." Only one of preëminent powers could have accomplished so much, where every step was contested. The success was not attributable to the potent influences of wealthy family prestige, aristocratic or royal favor. The Queen preferred others as Prime Ministers. The Establishment gave virulent opposition. The upper circles sought to ostracise and poured their wrath upon him. The long triumph was due to solid, varied, superior merit. His personality was commanding, irresistible, and the great popular heart beat sympathetically in his support. Identification with the masses against sect and class privilege made his life unique. Not by birth among the classes, he spoke of the workingmen, from whom he did not sever his interests and sympathies, to the disgust of his critics, as being of "our flesh and blood." He had a love of mankind, faith in his fellow-citizens, and often addressed fervent appeals to their moral sense; he hated tyranny, had intense sympathy with the oppressed and was the advocate of equal laws and equal liberties.

Prior to the Reform Act of 1832, government in Great Britain was mainly a struggle between rival aristocratic families to secure administrative control and the spoils and patronage of office. Political matters had been solely in the hands of about one per cent of the population. The masses practically had no political existence. Now the old order gave place to a new one. The people had won their first great victory. "Democratic necessities found strength to express themselves in the face of aristocratic interests." A member of Parliament became in a limited sense a delegate of the people, and showed increasing sensitiveness to public opinion, especially the opinion of his constituents. Voting lists, the ayes and nays, in the House of Commons began first to be published. Under the experiences and manifest benefits of freer government - the sense of responsibility to the people penetrating what formerly was called the governing classes, even those who ministered in the Church—Mr. Gladstone was emancipated from religious intolerance, from restrictive and protective tariffs, from submission to the assumptions of the nobility. The "classes," under the damaging influence of irresponsible power, had been indifferent to the interests and rights of others. The dominance of privilege and prerogative, and of a kind of assumption of being "better-born," while infusing into the people a doubt as to the right to think for themselves and a habitual submission to authority, creates in the possessors of these legal distinctions an unsympathetic, arbitrary spirit and a lordly contempt for "the hewers of wood and drawers of water." In the political controversies of the last fifty years, "whether they affected the franchise, commerce, religion, slavery, or whatever subject they touched, the leisured classes, the wealthy and titled classes, peers and bishops, had been in the wrong." Gladstone henceforth devoted his life to political, economical, social, moral,

and intellectual emancipation, and reminded "the masses that their present political elevation was owing to no principles less broad and noble than these—the love of liberty, liberty for all without distinction of class, creed, or country, and the resolute preference of the interests of the whole to any interest, be it what it may of a narrower scope." There came the supersession of the old aristocratic spirit by one juster, humaner, more democratic, broadening the basis of the English state, and through this and resulting political and ecclesiastical changes, making the terms of citizenship distinctively civil and incorporating or affiliating classes that had hitherto been dealt with as aliens.* In 1865, in a speech in Manchester, Gladstone recorded and vindicated the long roll of Liberal measures: "the emancipation of Roman Catholics; the removal of tests from Dissenters; the emancipation of the slaves; the reformation of the Poor Law; the reformation of the Tariff; the abolition of the Corn Laws; the abolition of the Navigation Laws; the conclusion of the French Treaty; the laws which have relieved Dissenters from stigma and almost ignominy, and which in doing so have not weakened, but have strengthened, the Church to which I belong." The Reform Bills of 1866 and 1884 and the Redistribution Bill of 1885, secured largely through his dictation. gave a more democratic character to the government. last premiership and last Parliament may be cited as illustrating his progressive Liberalism and his marvelous characteristics. The General Election of 1892 turned out Lord Salisbury and gave a short lease of crippled power to the combination of Liberals and Irish Nationalists. The session of Parliament from 31st of January, 1893, to 5th of March, 1894, attained in average attendance the highest level ever reached and doubled almost any on record in the amount and intensity of its labors.

With prodigality of enterprise and patriotism, the leader proposed, or assented to, legislation of a sweeping character, looking to correction of old abuses, doing justice to a people long wronged, and giving practical extension to the principles of freedom and of local government. The place of honor was given to a "Bill to Amend the Provision for the Government of Ireland." Then followed a series of measures, dealing with Registration, Shortening of Parliaments, "One Man one Vote," Employers' Liability, Railway Servants' Hours, Law of Conspiracies, Parish Councils, London County Council, Temperance,

^{*}Fairbairn's Catholicism, pp. 286, 329, 330

and the beginning of Disestablishment in Wales and in Scotland. In their first year of office, besides other beneficent reforms, the Liberal Government reduced the qualification for holding the office of Guardian of the Poor to five pounds, preparatory to abolishing it altogether; insisted that every child, whose parents asked for it, should have free education; instituted inquiries into dangerous trades in order to frame special rules for the preservation of the health of the workmen; appointed a number of Workingmen Magistrates in the Boroughs, and began to deal with the County Benches; increased the facilities for investing and withdrawing money from the Post-Office Savings Bank; and created a new Labor Department with a monthly Labor Gazette, giving full information on the state of employment in the United Kingdom. Through the House of Commons the Liberals carried a Home Rule Bill for Ireland. which the Lords summarily and contemptuously rejected by the crushing vote of four hundred and nineteen against fortyone. The Liberals were pledged, if retained in power, to secure the passing of a Home Rule Bill; to deal with the question of evicted tenants in Ireland; to Disestablish and Disendow the Church in Wales and the Established Church of Scotland; to amend the Law of Registration so that every man, who is entitled, shall have a vote and only one vote, and to reduce the qualifying period to three months; to put the liquor traffic under popular control: to reform the Municipality of London, and bring the City under the County Council, and give it power over the police, markets, gas, water, and everything necessary to make it a real Municipal Corporation; to abolish the qualification for the County Magistracy in England and Wales; to extend the benefits of the Factory Acts so as to put a stop to all sweating; to reform the taxation of the country generally; to put expenses in Parliamentary Elections on the rates, to hold all elections on one and the same day, and to recognize the principle of Payment of Members of Parliament as the only means of securing an adequate representation of Labor in the House of Commons; to shorten the duration of Parliaments; to reform the Land Laws and reënact something similar to the Land Transfer Bill of 1888, rejected by the House of Lords, which would have simplified the buying and selling of land, and done away with the law of primogeniture; and to take such steps as will prevent the House of Lords from exercising a veto on the will of the people, as interpreted by the House of Commons.

It is no wonder that Gladstone's popularity with the masses was never exceeded. They trusted his friendship for them, his purpose to accomplish by wise measures their elevation. Their confidence was continued without abatement until his death. His courtesy, good will, kindness, so invariable and universal that McCarthy could recall almost endless memories, were as unfailing to them as to their legal and official superiors. That he won and retained the affection and devoted following of the Nonconformists, from whom, in theological opinion, he was so widely separated, is perhaps the most surprising thing in his whole career, accounted for by the fact that "on those supreme occasions of public controversy when the path of politics crosses the path of morality, he pronounced unhesitatingly for justice and mercy, while others from whom better things were rightly expected were often silent or spoke on the wrong side." They admired him, trusted him, loved him, followed him as a political leader. He was also a favorite among his fellow-students. His geniality, skill as a talker (McCarthy says Holmes, Lewes, and Gladstone were the three best talkers he ever heard), fascination, versatility, made him a coveted and acceptable guest. The passionate enthusiasm was not confined to the people. He commanded unswerving loyally from his associates in government, and held all his cabinet positions without a rival. trust and love were not universal. He was the subject of bitterest hostility and enmity, and ostracism from social intercourse was used against his supporters, but the persecutions did not fret nor sour him. Foul-minded men charged him with impurity and licentiousness when a helping hand was stretched to the outcast. Razors and ropes were sent to expedite his departure from the world. Traveling in France and Switzerland and Italy, I have seldom heard from Englishmen other words than those of reproach and contempt towards their greatest fellow-citizen.

It remained for the pathetic close of his life to silence slanders and awaken, at home and abroad, an outburst of universal admiration. Death deprived his country of her most potent factor, and he was soon apotheosized. In Parliament, friends and adversaries paid equal tributes to his worth and greatness. The press of all lands teemed with eulogies of his marvelous achievements. Rosebery touched the heart of Christendom when, in the House of Lords, he spoke of the "pathetic figure," who for sixty years had shared sorrows and joys of her husband, and was then sitting by the coffin in the darkened room

at Hawarden.

We shall have to leave to posterity to determine Gladstone's place in the Pantheon of British statesmen. It is questionable whether, except in the great and beneficent work of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, his name will be, inseparably and to a monopolizing extent, identified with any permanent measure of governmental policy or national benefit. This statement may seem strange in view of his immense productiveness, the range and kind of subjects he handled, the meeting his name on every page of English annals from 1843 to 1894, of his masterful influence in the financial reforms embodied in a series of fourteen budgets between the years 1853 and 1882, in extension of suffrage, removal of disabilities, adroit abolition of purchase of offices in the army, changes wrought in the foreign policy and the constitution of his country, and in other measures of utility and progress. He had a passion for government, a love of power, but it was to do good, to serve his day and generation. He had no vulgar eagerness for place or fame, no selfish, unholy ambition apart from the public good. If a great measure or principle is to be measured by being original in inception or application, by its power to penetrate with its own spirit future policies and governments, by its adoption as being necessary, wise, satisfying dreams of human rights and liberty, then it is debatable whether Gladstone's great achievements partake of these criteria. Cayour does not share with anyone in the transcendent merit of Italian unification, nor Bismarck with the unity of Germany, nor Calhoun with the matchless exposition of a Federal constitutional Republic, nor Jefferson in the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, nor Lincoln in his tactful consummation of the emancipation of the negroes. And yet Gladstone was a more marked personality, a greater statesman, than either of these. He was distinguished in more spheres of intellectual achievement, and in more kinds of usefulness. An omnivorous reader, covering in his thirst for knowledge the whole field of literature, except physical and mathematical science, assimilating history, poetry, ethics, metaphysics, philosophy; with versatility of genius he became scholar, author (the mere enumeration of books and pamphlets fills twenty-two pages in the catalogue of the British Museum), critic on æsthetic, political, educational, literary, historical, metaphysical subjects, theologian (Dollinger placed him in the first rank of theologians, and the scholarly Fairbairn says he was throughout his long life an eager and prolific theologian), orator, party leader, administrator, statesman. His restless activity of

intellect, quenchless curiosity for more knowledge making him a diligent student up to his last days, his delight in the business of government, preparing in advance, in their most essential features, complicated and intricate bills for Parliament, the Home Rule Bill of 1886 being nothing less than a new constitution for Ireland, reveling, says Bryce,* "in the toil of mastering an infinitude of technical details," would not permit such absorption in one thing as to make that the end and purpose of No one can with certainty of lasting fame be everything. To his varied faculties, he had given a varied discipline. mental hospitality, his search for whatever was truth, his new way of viewing and interpreting men and things, the dialectical character of his mind, causing him to "discover and follow and weave together the sequences of thought," saved him from narrow limitations, but prevented that focalizing of energies which make the scholar of one idea, the politician of one measure. This multimindedness, giving such eminence, may account for the failure, if there be a failure, to have his name associated indelibly with some cause or object of which he was the originator, or the chief or exclusive representative. had disciplined his energies, ambition, and patriotism to fewer enterprises, his life would have been less useful but his fame would be more immortal. The exceptional gift of doing everything well won high praise, but it is doubtful whether remote Posterity, in her scant parsimony in bestowing imperishable crowns, will give him a place by the side of Bacon, Burke, Calhoun, and Aristotle. What niche in the Temple of the Great would he not have permanently occupied if he had

^{*}On the 27th of July, 1887, I had a pleasant interview with Mr. Gladstone in London. In the course of the conversation I made reference to the kindly sentiments expressed in his Kin Beyond the Sea and to his eulogy on the Constitution of the United States. He reaffirmed his feelings of regard for the American people and spoke earnestly of "the enormous future" and the responsibility of our country. In view of the struggles through which we were passing he thought that wise and good men should cultivate "a new moral unity of the English-speaking people." To my desire that he might put these thoughts in a permanent form, he said that he was a busy man, but that Mr. Bryce was then engaged in writing a work on American Institutions, for which no Englishman was better qualified. He was glad that such a competent person had underteken the task and he was sure from his thorough scholarship, painstaking industry, habits of historical investigation, and frequent visits to the United States of study in person and on the ground the remarkable material and political developments of the country, that he would produce a work of very great value. The American Commonwealth is the fulfillment of the prediction.

given himself to one or two vital concerns! His habit of concentrated thinking, enabling him to add simultaneously and with rapidity four columns of a long compound addition sum and carry in his head at one time two different trains of thought, the fascination of figures over his mind so that he was scarcely ever at fault in "every detail of price and value of production and distribution, of money and money's worth," and thus, without example among great statesmen of modern times, dispensing in the House with the services of a private secretary, his faculty of initiative, capacity for formulating in general principle and minute detail important schemes of legislation, his methodical habits of business and study, put everything attainable within his possibilities. His orderly management of time, his economy of the scraps and fragments of days and hours, was unparalleled. An account of the minuteness and quickness and accuracy of memory and of habits of putting everything in its place, reads like a fairy tale. If a document were needed he could send a message from Downing street to his library to this effect: "In the right hand corner of the front drawer of my business writing table you will find a bunch of keys. The third from the notch in the ring will open the lowest drawer in such a bureau. In its right hand corner you will find a packet tied with red tape, docketed so and so; take out the fourth paper from the top and forward it." To some young scoffers who had the audacity to chaff him about Homer, of which he had illimitable knowledge, he said: "I believe I could go on at almost any place you could start me in. Try." Two lines being quoted, he replied: "I know, I know; sixth book of Iliad, somewhere about the three hundredth line," and then shutting his eyes he poured forth a number of lines of Greek verse. If no copy of Paradise Lost had existed, Macaulay could have reproduced from memory, but this does not surpass Gladstone's familiarty with Homer. Without assuming to measure the duration of posthumous life, or to assign rank among "the Immortals," it may be safely affirmed that he will be most gratefully remembered as the molder and director of awakened public opinion in behalf of popular liberty, as the expert Parliamentarian, as the Great Commoner, as the peerless Christian statesman.

THE RAILWAY OF THE THREE AMERICAS

By FREDERIC EMORY

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THE idea of an intercontinental railway connecting the three great divisions of the Western hemisphere - North America, Central America, and South America-may have had a nebulous existence long before, but it seems to have first been brought to public notice in definite form by Hinton Rowan Helper some thirty years ago. In 1878, Mr. Helper placed in a bank in St. Louis the sum of \$5,000, which he offered as prizes for essays on the subject, but his advocacy of the undertaking, as he himself states, was received with general ridicule, and certain newspapers "advised, in effect, that a home should be speedily provided" for him "in an insane asylum." There are other claimants for the credit of originating an idea which was regarded everywhere as visionary, but Mr. Helper seems to have been its earliest "promoter," in a practical way, and he is still its most enthusiastic advocate. A North Carolinian by birth, Mr. Helper became an ardent Abolitionist early in life, and his book The Impending Crisis, published in 1857, was one of the notable contributions to the anti-slavery literature of that period. He is still living in Washington, hale and vigorous, and is one of the well-known figures of the federal capital.

It is interesting to note the circumstances attending the earlier agitation of the question of an intercontinental railway, for the character of a visionary project which was generally given to it, has continued to attach to it in certain quarters, and the ridicule and opposition, if much less formidable, are as active as ever. In South America, as in the United States, Mr. Helper states, his idea, when first broached, was looked upon as utterly and grotesquely impracticable, and it is possible that, but for the successful completion of our own great continental enterprise, the railroad to the Pacific Coast, it would never have come within the range of serious discussion. It had been contended that the construction of a railroad connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific would prove to be either a physical

impossibility or a monument of extravagance and folly, but actual experience demonstrated that such a road could be built and that the great national benefits predicted for it by its advocates were not a matter of idle speculation. Since then, great trunk lines, extending over thousands of miles, have multiplied rapidly, and an actual prototype of the Three Americas Railway has been provided in the gigantic undertaking of the Russian Government in connecting Europe with the farthest confines of Asia by a continuous line of rail. Another undertaking, even more daring, is the proposal of Cecil Rhodes to

build a railroad the whole length of Africa.

In other words, no one questions any longer the practicability of such enterprises, however difficult the territory to be traversed-provided the money be forthcoming. Why, then, should the building of a line of railroad connecting the United States with the heart of South America, continue to be relegated by certain critics to the limbo of unsubstantial dreams? Various objections have been urged—such as the enormous cost, the physical obstacles, the sparsity of population, and lack of natural resources in certain regions, but these difficulties, though unquestionably great, have been shown by similar experiments in railway building, to be not insuperable. The real point of difference between the great transcontinental lines which have actually been built and the proposed Three Americas Railway may be found in the fact that the former were built through territory controlled by a single nationality, while the latter would be the creation of a dozen or more separate republics with widely differing political, industrial, and even racial interests.

This brings us to the question whether zealous and efficient cooperation in the scheme can be secured from these countries, each of which forms a link in the chain, in the prosecution of a general plan of construction and control, or whether we must reconcile ourselves to the slower process of the gradual building of railroad lines, as each country's necessities demand, forming more or less uneven stages in a wandering and tortuous route? The answer will perhaps be found in the course which the future development of the relations of the United States with the Latin-American countries shall take, and it is possible now only to draw conclusions as to probable results. There is a wide diversity of opinion as to the real attitude of the United States and the Latin-American peoples towards each other, and statesmanship will probably find no more interesting

or more delicate task than that of so adjusting the conditions of future intercourse that benefit and not injury may result.

There can hardly be any dispute among ourselves as to the sincerity of popular interest in the United States in the future peace and prosperity of the countries to the south of us. feeling is not merely one of sentiment due to the fact that all these countries, like ourselves, and following our example. revolted from the despotic control of a European power, and, sooner or later, modeled their forms of government upon ours, It has a practical basis in the fact that the Latin-American republics offer great possibilities to United States capital and enterprise, not only in trade, but in industrial development in various lines-for example, in mining, in agriculture, in railroad building, in municipal improvements, etc.—and present more or less inviting fields to adventurous spirits eager to acquire a fortune, or at least a competence, more quickly, even at heavy risks, than they have the opportunity of doing at home. Our merchants and manufacturers have long been restless over the fact that so large a share of the trade of even the nearer Latin-American States still remains in the hands of Europeans, and various expedients have been proposed from time to time for deflecting it to what seemed to them more natural channels. It must be confessed that, thus far, the results of such efforts as we have made towards effecting a closer and more profitable intercourse have not been commensurate with the hopes indulged in some quarters. With some of the Latin-American countries, our trade has remained practically at a standstill or has even retrograded; with none, except our neighbor, Mexico, has it shown such marked increase as to justify hopes of considerable development in the near future, unless the present conditions are materially changed.

During the ten calendar years 1889–98, our trade with South America, which fluctuated considerably in the matter of imports, either decreased or remained about stationary in exports. In 1898, we sold South America \$5,000,000 less than in 1889, although our exports increased by nearly \$2,000,000, as compared with the previous year, 1897. Our total trade in 1898 was about \$118,000,000, against \$133,000,000 in 1889. There have been years since 1889, however, when, owing to our increased purchases, the total volume of trade has been greater than in that year—as, for example, \$167,000,000 in 1891; \$162,000,000 in 1892; and \$151,000,000 in 1895. The year 1897 shows a larger volume by some \$3,000,000 than the year

1889, but there was a falling off in the following year (1898) of \$18,000,000. When we analyze the figures, we find that, while South America has occasionally sold us much more than she sold us in 1889, she has at no time bought so largely from us as

she did ten years ago.

With Mexico it is different. While our imports from that country declined from \$23,000,000 in 1889 to \$21,000,000 in 1898, our exports increased from \$13,000,000 in 1889 to \$23,000,000 in 1898. In other words, though we buy less from her, she is a better customer of ours by ten millions of dollars than she was ten years ago. It is true that part of the decline in the value of our purchases may be attributed to the fall in the prices of certain Mexican products, but upon the whole, it may be said that we have made substantial gains in Mexican trade, and that the intercourse with our nearest Latin-American neighbor is steadily becoming more intimate and more cordial. This improvement may fairly be ascribed not only to more active and more intelligent efforts on the part of our exporters, but to the stable and efficient government of President Diaz which has brought about conditions more favorable to the industrial progress of the country and the purchasing power of the people. It should be added that United States industry and enterprise are cordially welcomed in Mexico, and that the feeling of ease and security on the part of our people settled there offers a strong indication of the possibilities in Latin-American countries where similar conditions of order and progress are apparently in process of development.

The outlook in some of the Central American States - notably in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras—is also distinctly encouraging. Our trade with Central America shows no large gains in totals of either imports or exports, but there seems to be a general increase in the demand for United States manufactures, and a growing desire for closer intercourse. The trade total for 1889 and that for 1898 are substantially the same, the value, ten years ago, having been \$12,300,000, and last year, \$12,762,000. The net increase, therefore, is trifling, but in some of these years, the volume of trade was considerably larger, and account must be taken of depreciation in values, changes in tariff legislation, and disturbing political conditions. The general testimony of United States consular officers in Central American countries is favorable to the hope of a gradual development of business relations and a steadily increasing consumption of our goods. In the British colony of Honduras, the United States has fifty-five per cent of the import trade, and Consul Avery, of Belize, notes the gratifying fact that "United States enterprise has been in evidence in the colony in the past year, in the construction of an iron bridge over the Belize River, the building of a new post office, etc." In the Republic of Honduras, the United States also furnishes the greater part of the imports. Consul-General Beaupré reports from Guatemala that "the United States has maintained her lead in imports into the country during the past year, and in some important lines, the gain has been most gratifying." There has been a steady increase in our imports from Costa Rica during the past ten years, the value rising from \$1,023,983 in 1889 to \$3,225,401 in 1898. Our sales to Costa Rica during the same period have fluctuated considerably, but during the past three years, they have shown a healthful increase, rising from \$1,000,-000 in 1889 to about \$1,300,000 in 1896; \$1,500,000 in 1897; and \$1,325,000 in 1898. Trade with Nicaragua has remained nearly stationary, though it is said to be growing, but the United States ranks second to Great Britain in the consumption of foreign goods in both Nicaragua and Salvador. The latter country, alone of the Central American republics, shows a falling off in trade with the United States. In 1889, Salvador imported from us goods to the value of \$815,329; in 1898, to the value of only \$698,616. In 1889, her sales to us amounted to \$1,-388,560; in 1898, to \$748,571. In Salvador, as well as in Nicaragua, however, business has been greatly disturbed within the past year or two by political troubles, and, under normal conditions, we may expect increased consumption of our goods in these as well as in the other countries of Central America, which must be brought into closer relations with us owing to their geographical situation, by the development of steamship facilities between them and our Southern ports-such as Galveston, New Orleans, and Mobile.*

The contrary of our trade relations with the Latin-American countries would seem to furnish the surest index as to the degree of popular support which may reasonably be expected from those countries in behalf of any great international enterprise involving the coöperation of all. From this point of view, it cannot be said that the existing volume of business

^{*}For details of the trade of the United States with the Latin-American countries, see Commercial Relations of the United States, 1898, Vol. I, published by the Department of State.

warrants the hope of early action. Our solicitations to trade do not, as yet, seem to have impressed themselves upon the business life of any of these countries, except Mexico, sufficiently to encourage the idea that they value trade intercourse with us as calling for great outlay at the present time. It does not follow, from this, that the idea of an intercontinental railroad must be set aside indefinitely, or that such a project may not properly be included among the features of a general movement towards effecting a solidarity of the American republics in furtherance of interests which would seem to be common to all of them. It is sought, here, merely to show that, for some time to come, the business considerations which ordinarily attract capital to great enterprises and arouse popular interest and effort on behalf of them would seem to be lacking, and that, if immediate prosecution of the scheme is to be secured, it must be by means of Government initiative, with the view of prospective results in building up trade which, at present, seem remote.

In other words, existing trade or even trade in process of development does not seem to call for action in the matter with any clear note of insistence: is it likely that, in the absence of such demand, the different governments interested can be induced to take up the matter energetically and press it to a conclusion? The answer to this question is by no means a simple one, inasmuch as it involves considerations of sentiment, of national pride, of political interests, which may have a determining influence, one way or the other. Commercial reasons, it would seem, though always relied upon in argument, have had but little weight in effecting what has actually been done thus far. The motives animating the different governments in making the survey for the road were political rather than They were the outgrowth of the International economic. American Conference, or Pan-American Congress as it was popularly called, which sat in Washington in 1889-90, and sprang from the desire to provide all possible means of fostering identity of interests among the American republics and of bringing the Latin-American countries into closer relations with the United States. It is interesting to trace the history of the enterprise, from its inception in the Conference to the publication of the completed report of the Intercontinental Railway Commission, in seven large volumes, a few months ago.

The International American Conference was called together by virtue of an act passed by the United States Congress May

10, 1888, requesting the President to invite the Latin-American Governments to join the United States in a conference to be held at Washington in 1889 "for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlements of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them, and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse and means of direct communication between said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all, and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries." When the Conference met in Washington, October 2, 1889, it was greeted with an address of welcome by the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, in which he said: "We meet in the firm belief that the nations of America ought to be and can be more helpful, each to the other, than they now are, and that each will find advantage and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the We believe that we should be drawn together more closely by the highways of the sea, and that, at no distant day, the railway systems of the north and south will meet upon the Isthmus and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America." It was Mr. Blaine who, in these words, first presented to the Conference the idea of a railroad connecting the Three Americas. The subject was not mentioned in the Act of Congress providing for the Conference; the only reference to the question of transportation being the clause providing that among the topics to be considered should be "the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American States and the ports of each other."

The Conference took up Mr. Blaine's suggestion and went further by adopting a report on the 26th of February, 1890, in favor of a survey to be undertaken by joint action of the various governments for an intercontinental trunk line with branches connecting it with the principal cities lying off the main route. It was expressly stated in the first paragraph of the report that, in the opinion of the Conference, "a railroad connecting all or a majority of the nations represented in this Conference will contribute greatly to the development of cordial relations between said nations and the growth of their material interests." The object first mentioned was "the development of cordial relations." The growth of "material interests," in other words, of commerce and industry, was evidently regarded as of sec-

ondary importance - presumably upon the hypothesis that this would follow upon "the development of cordial relations" among the different countries which the construction of the railroad was expected to aid in bringing about. The theory of the Conference seems to have been, in effect, that the building of the road should precede and might be expected to promote the commercial and industrial growth of the countries interested, instead of being held in abeyance until the economic conditions in each country were developed to the point of impelling it to contribute its share towards welding together the many links in the great chain of existing or projected lines. The undertaking clearly rested upon a political and theoretical basis, rather than upon an economic and practical one. We shall consider, later, the influences which would seem to make for and against the realization of an idea which is lofty and captivating and must, undoubtedly, appeal to every imaginative mind.

The Conference not only expressed itself as being in favor of an international survey, but made a number of recommendations as to the actual construction of the line. It was provided in the report, as adopted, that "in case the results of the survey demonstrate the practicability and advisability of the railroad, proposals for the construction either of the whole line or of sections thereof should be solicited." All materials necessary for the construction and operation of the road were to be exempt from import duties, and all its personal and real property employed for those purposes was to be exempt from taxation—"national, provincial (state), or municipal." execution of a work of such magnitude, it was declared, "deserves to be further encouraged by subsidies, grants of land, or guarantees of a minimum of interest." The railroad, in the opinion of the Conference, "should be declared forever neutral for the purpose of securing freedom of traffic." The enterprise, thus far, has not gone beyond the preliminary stage of the survey which, together with the compilation and publication of the data collected, has consumed nearly nine years.

Secretary Blaine, in submitting the conclusions of the Conference to President Harrison, expressed his warm concurrence. "No more important recommendation," he said, "has come from the International American Conference, and I earnestly commend it to your attention, with full confidence that prompt action will be taken by Congress to enable this Government to participate in the promotion of the enterprise." President

Harrison, in a message to Congress in May, 1890, referred to the undertaking as "vast, but entirely practicable." The necessary legislation providing for an international survey was obtained, and on the 6th of December, 1890, the International Railway Commission, composed of three members from each of the countries represented at the Conference, met in Washington. In calling the meeting to order, Secretary Blaine again expressed his lively interest in the project and said he hoped the day would "mark the beginning, the auspicious beginning, of a very great enterprise that shall draw closer South America, Central America, and North America; that shall cement in closer and more cordial ties many nations and be a benefit to the present generation, and to millions yet unborn." present President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Mr. Alexander I. Cassatt, was chosen President of the Commission, which proceeded to hold sessions which continued until April 22, 1891, eleven of the governments of America being represented. After having adopted rules and made provision for surveying parties, the Commission adjourned to await the reports of the engineers, delegating full power, in the meantime, to an Executive Committee of five members, with President Cassatt as Chairman. Three surveying parties were sent into the field, the number being limited by lack of funds. The amount available at the time was a little over \$133,000, of which the United States had contributed \$130,000. This was subsequently increased to a total of nearly \$300,000, of which the Latin-American countries contributed about \$48,000. "Argentina, through its delegates," says the condensed report of the Commission,* "declined to contribute money towards the general enterprise, but proposed to complete the railways in its own territory, thus linking itself to the Intercontinental Railway. Uruguay and Mexico took similar positions towards the payment of their quotas of money, assigning like reasons therefor."

The surveys were originally intended to include the following routes: 1. From the western boundary of Mexico through Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; then through the Isthmus of Panama into Colombia. 2. From Quito, Ecuador, northward to Colombia and through that country, including the Isthmus of Panama, until a junction was affected with Route No. 1. 3. From Quito, southward through Ecuador and Peru to Lake Titicaca on the borders of Bolivia.

^{*}Reports of International Railway Commission, vol. i, part 1, p. 21.

4. From Oruro to La Paz, Bolivia, to Puno and Cuzco, Peru, connecting with Route No. 3. 5. From Huanchaca to Potosi, Bolivia; then, crossing the Paraguay River, to Corumba and onward through Brazil via Coxim, until connection was made with the railroads having their eastern terminus at Rio de Janeiro. 6. From Potosi, Bolivia, along the Pilcomayo River to Asuncion, Paraguay, connecting with the railroads of that country and of Uruguay. The object of these surveys was evidently to ascertain the feasibility of a trunk line connecting the railroad system of Mexico with a point in South America (Huanchaca, Bolivia), from which three main lines might diverge to: 1. Chile, extending along the Pacific slope of the Andes. 2. Rio, the capital of Brazil, through the vast territory drained by the Paraguay River and its affluents.

3. The River Plate countries.

Assuming that Mexico, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic had perfected their systems so as to provide the adequate connections, it would be possible, upon the completion of the projected lines, for the traveler taking the train at New York or Washington, or at any large city in the United States, to continue his journey by land to Rio, to Montevideo, to Buenos Ayres, on the Atlantic side, and to any important point in Ecuador, Peru, Chile — in fact, the whole extent of the Pacific Coast of South America. The existing railways in Mexico, connecting with the systems of the United States, already afford through traffic to the City of Mexico, and, beyond that point, a line is to be built to the frontier of Guatemala. Railroads already in operation or projected would form part of the system in Central America and Colombia, and from the Cauca Valley in the latter country, a line might be built to connect the great trunk line with points in Venezuela. As Brazil, Chile, the Argentine Republic, and Uruguay, have already considerable mileages of railroad which may be utilized, the main work of construction in South America would be found in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

The surveying parties completed their work by July, 1893, but it was not until a few months ago that the results were given to the public in printed form, the intervening time having been consumed in the preparation and printing of the great mass of data collected. Corps No. I examined the region between the southern frontier of Mexico and the Savegre River in Costa Rica and surveyed routes aggregating over 2,600 miles. Corps No. 2 covered the region between the Savegre River and Quito,

Ecuador, with a branch to the Magdalena River. Corps No. 3 ran a transit line from Quito, Ecuador, to Cuzco, Peru, a distance of 1,700 miles. The object of the surveys, it is explained in the report of the Commission, was not the location of a railroad, nor the preparation of detailed estimates, but simply to determine the practicability "of constructing, within limits of reasonable cost, a trunk line connecting the more important centres of North, Central, and South America," and the character of the work performed was, consequently, "more or less of the nature of a preliminary railroad survey, accompanied by descriptive memoirs and approximate estimates, supplemented, however, by more extensive explorations and investigations wherever the intricate character of the country, or the probable future development of the natural resources would seem to warrant." Owing to lack of funds, the proposed surveys in Brazil and through Bolivia to the River Plate were not undertaken, but the report explains that in Bolivia, the building of proposed extensions of the existing road would make the section in that country complete, and that, for connection with Paraguay and Uruguay, a line down the valley of the Pilcomayo, along the Osborn concession to Asuncion, has been considered. Southern Bolivia, investigations have been made to extend the railroad line from Uyuni to Quiaca, 125 miles from Jujuy, at present the northern terminus of the Argentine system, connection with Brazil, the construction of a railroad from Oruro or Challapata to Sucre and Pomabamba, as is contemplated, would render unnecessary the proposed survey across Bolivia, starting at Huanchaca and running via Pomabamba to the Paraguay River at Corumba. In Brazil itself, it would be necessary to prolong the line along the Taquary River via Coxim, to the valley of the Paranahyba, ascending, thence, the valley of the Rio Grande to Uberaba, which is in railroad communication with Rio de Janeiro and Santos.

The Argentine railway system, as the Commission states, is the most extensive in South America, and one of the lines carries railroad communication from Buenos Ayres to Jujuy near the base of the Bolivian plateau. The building of 125 miles of road from Jujuy to Quiaca, Bolivia, would make the chain complete. Another road extends across Argentina to the Andes, and the completion of a gap of some 46½ miles in the mountains would connect it with the Chilean section of the interoceanic line and provide a through route between Buenos Ayres and Valparaiso, so that a traveler arriving at either city

would be able to reach the other by striking directly across the continent. The total distance from the southern boundary of Mexico across Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic is stated to be 6,489.76 miles, of which 1,494.63 miles of railroad are in operation, leaving 4,995.13 miles to be constructed.

The railroads of Mexico connect with those of the United States at four points, viz.: Laredo, Eagle Pass, and El Paso on the Rio Grande and Nogales in Arizona. From Laredo, 2,094 miles from New York, the Mexican National Road runs, via Monterey and other towns, to the City of Mexico, 840.4 miles. From Eagle Pass, the Mexican International runs southwesterly, crossing the Mexican Central near Lerdo, to the mining town of Durango, 540.3 miles. The Mexican Central, starting at El Paso, extends southward through Chihuahua, Zacatecas, Aguas Calientes, and Queretaro to the City of Mexico, 1,224.1 miles. From Nogales, the Sonora road proceeds via Hermosillo to Guayamas, 265 miles. From the City of Mexico southward, there are railroads in operation as far as Oaxaca, 342.9 miles. The section remaining to be built would extend from Oaxaca to Ayutla, 461 miles. Following the line via Laredo, the total distance from New York to Buenos Ayres, the most southern point aimed at, via the City of Mexico, Oaxaca, Ayutla, Central America, etc., would be 10,228.06 miles, of which 4,771.93 miles have been constructed, leaving The total cost is estimated at 5,456.13 miles to be built. \$174,290,271.84. The largest amount to be expended in any one country is that allotted to Peru - over \$65,000,000; the next, Colombia, about \$33,700,000; Ecuador, nearly \$27,000,-000; Mexico, \$14,752,000; Bolivia, \$12,000,000; the Argentine Republic, \$4,000,000. For building the necessary lines in Central America, the estimate is about \$17,000,000. "It is highly probable," adds the report, "that future studies will reduce the length and lessen the cost stated."

It is to be regretted that the Intercontinental Commission was not able to follow out the program for careful surveys of all the territory to be traversed and that so large a part of its conclusions is necessarily based upon estimates or upon independent surveys, the accuracy of which is more or less indeterminate. From the material collected, however, it is possible to draw deductions as to the considerations which are likely to have most weight in deciding the immediate future of the

enterprise. Two facts of special significance at once present themselves, viz.: 1. The heavy outlay demanded in certain countries, such as Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador, whose naturally rich resources, in their present state of development, hardly warrant the hope of any great national undertaking; and 2. The existence in other countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Chile, of lines of railroad already in operation which so nearly approximate completed systems that their final development would seem to be but a matter of time. It may be assumed that, if the main trunk of the Intercontinental Railway were built from the borders of Mexico through Central America, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, to the point of divergence in the latter, native enterprise, aided by foreign capital, which has already accomplished so much in railroad construction in Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Chile, would exert itself to build connecting lines. The serious element of the problem is to be found in the financial and industrial condition of those countries where the other gaps are to be filled. In some of these, important railroad enterprises have been successfully carried to completion, and it is within the range of possibility that, if a basis of international cooperation were obtained, the financially stronger nations agreeing to lend their support to the weaker, foreign capital might find sufficient incentive for investment in the enterprise. It is hardly to be expected that the poorer Latin-American countries, most of which are already struggling under heavy loads of indebtedness, will be able to make any pledge of revenues for such a purpose for a long time to come. Is it probable that the other nations would consent to incur the additional obligations necessary to supply the large deficiency if the attempt were made to raise the money by Government appropriations? would seem to be clear that, unless the people of the United States are willing to assume the greater part of the burden, reliance must be placed upon offers of grants of land and mineral rights along the route. Whether these would be sufficient to attract capital, only actual trial, under the favoring conditions of an agreement in support of the enterprise among the republics, which possess the elements of financial strength and stability, could determine.

As the United States has taken the initiative in the past, so in the future, she would have to assume the chief responsibility. Is the stake sufficient to warrant us in embarking upon such a "long distance" enterprise? At the first blush, our interest,

great though it is in a political sense, would seem to be far from conclusive from a commercial point of view. Not only, as has been indicated, is the present volume of our Latin-American trade incommensurate with such an undertaking, even if the latter could be shown to be a direct factor of development, but a glance at the map makes it evident that water and not land transportation must always be our cheapest, shortest, and easiest means of traffic with the South American continent. The distance from New York to Buenos Ayres by sea is 6,000 miles, against 10,000 by the Intercontinental Railway route. The whole extent of the northern coast of South America is much nearer the Atlantic ports of the United States by water than by land. Even the ports of the western coast of South America could, doubtless, upon the completion of an isthmian canal, be reached more cheaply by steamship than by rail. The chief value of a Three Americas Railway to our commerce and industries, aside from rapidity of communication, would, therefore, be as a feeder for ocean lines. It is hardly to be doubted that the building of a continuous line of rail through Central America and South America, with ramifying branches reaching to interior points as well as to seaports, would have enormous results in stimulating the industry and trade of the different countries, and if we were transacting business with our Latin-American neighbors on a broader basis, with adequate steamship facilities, we might reasonably expect to reap corresponding benefits. Under present conditions, with but few steamship lines to Latin-American ports and only partial and ineffective efforts to develop trade, the profits to be reaped from the construction of an intercontinental line, except in Mexico and Central America, might be expected to fall into the hands of our European competitors or would be shared almost exclusively among the Latin-Americans themseves. The benefit to the latter would, indeed, be incalculable. Herein, we find the chief value of the enterprise regarded from an international standpoint.

The great drawback to advancement in most of the Latin-American countries is the lack of adequate means of communication between them. Interchange of products would mean interchange of ideas and the elements of progress which each might possess or acquire. If, for example, the influences which are contributing to healthful growth in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and the Argentine Republic were extended to their less active neighbors, by means of efficient railway communication,

the general improvement of the Latin-American countries in industry, trade, and the science of government would undoubtedly receive a very great impetus, and the prospect for the introduction of United States goods and of our characteristic ideas of enterprise and industry might be expected to brighten. Moreover, aught that tends to consolidate the Latin-American countries along the lines of progress and order, and a great trunk railway binding them together would provide the strongest and most durable of ties, cannot fail to make for our advantage, as well as for theirs. The destinies of those countries, as related to the rest of the world, would seem to be inseparably associated with those of the United States. Not only do they share with us a great geographical division of the globe, but they have deliberately chosen to model their governments and institutions upon ours, and as they advance in the path of economic development, they will find in our industrial activity, the highest, most modern standard of endeavor. We have long led the world in domestic manufactures, and the expansion of our export trade during the past few years has demonstrated the fact that, even in countries such as England and Germany, which at one time had a monopoly of many articles of production, we are able to compete, in their own home markets, in goodssuch as iron and steel manufactures, leather, boots and shoes, furniture, etc.-in which they were once preëminent, and in neutral markets like Africa and Asia, are able to outstrip them in the sale of cotton goods, machinery, tools, and a great variety of other articles. Industrially, we need fear no rival in the future struggle for Latin-American trade.

Our interest in the Three Americas Railway, therefore, if not so direct nor so immediate as some of the more enthusiastic advocates of the project contend, is neither so altruistic nor so remote as its opponents are wont to claim. It would seem to rest upon a substantive basis in the practical benefit to us, as well as to the Latin-American countries, which may confidently be expected to result from the general development of the latter. If the railway were carried to successful completion through our initiative and help, it would also create an atmosphere throughout Latin-America distinctly favorable to us as against European influences, still strongly entrenched,—influences which have sprung from long association in trade intercourse and settled habits in the purchase and consumption of certain classes of goods. If the construction of the railroad were accompanied by the establishment of adequate steamship

communication with the chief Latin-American ports, it is more than probable that, with favorable reciprocity agreements, an active trade with the whole of Latin-America would gradually follow.

If these measures which, though of great magnitude, are by no means impracticable or "visionary" for a people with our resources, were seriously undertaken, we would convince the Latin-Americans that we "meant business," and they would find some real inducement to trade with us. Hitherto, we have contented ourselves either with talking about what ought to be or with more or less sporadic efforts to cultivate closer relations. What is needed is systematic, intelligent effort, and at the base of future trade intercourse, to make it mutually profitable, must lie a generally diffused industrial activity in the Latin-American countries which only improved facilities of intercourse among them can bring about. Obviously, a great system of railway communication, with gradually multiplying branches reaching out to tap the vast agricultural and mineral riches of the interior of Central America and South America, would provide the most efficient means to this end.

The attitude of the Latin-Americans towards us is, of course, a factor of prime importance in the problem. From a more or less intimate association with a number of representative men settled in this country, as well as with others temporarily residing here, I venture to hazard the opinion that among intelligent Latin-Americans, there is but one feelingthat of sincere friendliness and a desire to emulate our political, social, and economic development, tempered naturally by a preference for their own racial instincts and customs, and the extreme susceptibility of the Spanish character in matters of etiquette and national pride. In some quarters, perhaps, there may be apprehension, more or less vague, of the influence we might exert in their political affairs, and it is to be regretted that this feeling finds some justification in the tone of condescension or patronage into which our badly informed orators and newspapers have occasionally been betrayed. This attitude of suspicion, however, is neither general nor deepseated, and a little tact, accompanying practical efforts on our part to develop trade intercourse, would soon eradicate it. Every enlightened Latin-American, while naturally resenting any apparent encroachment upon the political rights or independence of action of his country, however small and feeble it may be, would probably welcome an invasion of enterprise, industry, and trade from the United States and would find in the gradual growth of our characteristic influences among his people, the best guarantee of their future progress and pros-

perity.

Political conditions, which are still so unsettled and shifting in some of the Latin-American countries, would undoubtedly be tranquilized, in course of time, by the infusion of economic influences which would better the condition of the people and provide a variety of incentives to a greater degree of order and stability, and it may be assumed that the closer and more general the intercourse with our people, the greater would be the progress towards the art of self-government copied from us, and heretofore practiced on theoretical lines with but little of outside aid or example to offset the troublesome legacy of centuries of Spanish misrule. The Latin-Americans, long habituated to the control of Spanish aliens, with scarcely any voice in their own affairs, emancipated themselves by heroic effort and established governments of their own, only to find that generations of despotism had left them a long train of impediments to overcome in their ardent efforts to attain that degree of political freedom and self-control which they envied in us. The wonder is not that disorders occur, but that political evolution towards comparative peace and tranquillity has made the progress it has in some of those countries where the iron hand of arbitrary power was, for so long a period, the only political force which the people respected or understood. The results of the effort to engraft free institutions upon a stock so strange to them,-however partial and unsatisfactory they may be held to be,—are at least sufficient to encourage the hope that, with a strong prepossession in our favor, the Latin-American peoples may move forward at an accelerated pace, in close association with us, when the channels of intercourse shall have been deepened and broadened, and all trade obstacles are cleared away. In these aspects of the question, the proposition to build an intercontinental railroad would seem to take a practical form, and to promise results which make it worthy of serious study.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

President Leland Stanford Junior University

Now and then in these days some successful business man raises his eyes from his counter to question the American University's right to exist. Does higher education pay? he asks, and from his own experience of tireless energy and from his own contact with thin-legged, white-faced collegians seeking a job, he gives to his question a qualified negative. He further claims, should he care to pursue the subject at greater length, that opportunities for higher education are too widely diffused and that the American masses are victims of over-education.

If all this is true, it is time to call a halt and take account of stock. We have invested too much in Universities, love and devotion as well as bonds and gold, for us to be indifferent to their usefulness. In any case it may be worth our while to spend half an hour in considering this question, even though to you and me, who are not in success as a life business, such statements of men of business may seem belated and absurd

It is certain in the first place that to speak of "over-education" is a misuse of terms. If education is rational and effective there cannot be too much of it. It is not men trained and efficient who enter into destructive competition. It is the ignorant and ineffective who make the struggle for existence so dire a battle. Whatever leaves men weak and incapable cannot justly be called education. There is nothing more useful than wisdom, nothing more effective than training, nothing more practical than sunshine. Surely no one can claim that the American people are too wise, too skilful, or too enlightened for their own good. Yet to give wisdom, skill, and enlightenment is the main function of higher education. It cannot give brains, courage, and virtue where these qualities were wanting before. It cannot make a man, but it furnishes the best known means to help a man make himself. The gain through self-building often outweighs in value the original material. It may be more important even than the finished product, as effort is a greater source of strength and happiness

to man than final achievement.

What these critics usually mean to attack is misfit education—the training or straining of the memory rather than the acquisition of power to think and act. They mean that the colleges give schooling rather than training. They "teach young people how to talk rather than how to live." This is still true to some extent in some places, but the whole tendency of University movement is toward reality and practicality. These critics have not watched this movement. They do not draw their idea of a University from the powerful, well-organized institutions of the day, which lay hold of every various power of humanity and seek to draw it into effective harmonious action. Rather they picture to themselves the starveling colleges of their youth where callow boys were driven against their will over race-courses of study, no part of which appealed to their own souls or was related in any direct way to their lives. Such colleges and such ideals of education exist in our time in certain forgotten corners, but they are in no sense typical of the American University of to-day. Harvard and Cornell, and the great and growing State Universities of the West are as firmly and thoroughly devoted to the needs of American democracy as the modern harvester is to the needs of the American wheat-fields. No doubt inferior methods, dull, stupid traditions can be found here and there under the name of higher education, as rusty or outworn machinery exists under the name of agricultural implements. It is not by these that the best that we have should be judged. No one knows better than our college authorities the misfits and failures of education. No one strives half so hard to prevent them, though in all large enterprises no one can avoid a certain percentage of failure.

Not all the critics in business life taken together have done one-tenth as much to make education practical as has any one of the great University presidents of our time. Let us mention, for example, Eliot and White and Angell and Tappan. Under the hands of these men, and others like these, the whole face of higher education in America has changed in the last twenty years, and the changes have been in every way toward greater usefulness and practicality. As the limited express of to-day compares with the cross-roads accommodation train, so does the American University we all know, or ought to know, compare with the college of twenty years ago. The little

curriculum of the college, its Latin verses, mythology, mathematics, and dilute philosophy, covered but a small arc in the grand circle. The entire range of the activities of men constitutes the field of the University.

The key-note of railroad progress has been usefulness to the traveling public. The limited express carries well, carries quickly, carries comfortably, accurately, and safely, the multitudes of people who demand transportation. Its fresher paint. handsomer cars, and softer cushions are only incidental to this. So with the University of to-day. It aims to meet the needs of all men, whatever these needs may be, and of all women too—all to whom higher training or higher outlook is possible. It meets these needs accurately, safely, and without waste of time or effort. Its greater size and greater impressiveness of buildings, libraries, and laboratories are only incidents. Its purpose is direct, practical, and unflinching. Those who criticise its results must take a broad view of its purposes. Because a Harvard man once drove a street-car in San Francisco, or because some despondent invalid from Yale is seeking a third-class clerkship is no indictment of Harvard or Yale any more than a chance tramp on a brakebeam is an impeachment of the management of a great railroad.

If the passengers in general rode on the brakebeam in preference to the coaches it might give rise to an indictment. If the Harvard man of to-day cannot as a rule make use of his knowledge, if he cannot take care of himself and open the door of opportunity to others, if the more of Harvard the less of man, then we may question Harvard's right to her endowments. But, as a matter of fact, this is not true. Among men in every walk of life, among our bridge-builders, our preachers, and our machinists, our teachers, our statesmen, and our naturalists, our bookmen, our physicians, our financiers, our electricians, our lawyers, and our journalists, the University men stand everywhere at the front. They are effective, enlightened, practical. They have had some one thing clearly in view, they have striven to do it, and to do it so well that their work needs no after patching.

It is true that this has not always been so to the degree that it is to-day. Once the college education was not related to life. It did not pretend to be. It had nothing to do with action. It was not even the foundation of scholarship. The

action. It was not even the foundation of scholarship. The scholars of the early days were as much self-taught as the merchants. The school training was discipline only, a drill in

memory and discrimination, the things memorized and the things studied to be forgotten when real life began. The original investigator, that is, the real scholar, in any field, in language even, had to begin at the bottom when his college course was finished. He had to find his own materials, devise his own methods, and forge his own implements, just as the selftaught scholar had to do. The man with definite purposes saw his way to this goal outside of college, for the college would not swerve from its mediæval English ideals a hair's breadth to meet the individual need of the student.

Learning breeds vanity, someone has said, while wisdom is the parent of modesty. The old-time college student had learning. He learned rules by heart, and lists of exceptions. He learned the propositions of Euclid and could repeat every corollary by number. If he studied science, this too was made a master of names, definitions, and exceptions. The best botanist was the one who knew the most Latin names of plants. The best historian knew the names and dates of most kings and the

details of the greatest number of campaigns.

The college education was once valued for the feeling of superiority which it engendered. The Bachelor of Arts was as good as the best of men and better than most. "Of all horned cattle," said Horace Greely, "commend me to the college graduate." He meant the kind which is filled with learning, with a fatuous vanity which sprouted like the calf's horns. If we define an educated man as one who has learned the secret of power in nature or life, he is not classified with horned cattle. He becomes a man, and to send forth such is the work of the

University of to-day.

It is said by someone that the greatest joy on earth with certain women-greater even than the pleasures of hope and even the consolations of religion—is the "well-dressed feeling." though we do not share it ourselves. I saw an example the other day on a railway train. A lady, not graceful nor gracious nor beautiful, was dressed to her ourselves. nor beautiful, was dressed to her own perfect satisfaction. could not describe the details, which had no special charm for me, but the aggregate was the sure feeling of being "welldressed." This showed itself in the expression of her face, at once haughty and beatific. The college degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred on our fathers the "well-dressed feeling." They were at once haughty and beatific in the possession of it, and to gain the degree, not to enter into the gathered store of intellec-

tual power, was their purpose in running over the prescribed curriculum.

But, whatever we may say of outworn methods, they were not without their successes. In these the old college found ample justification. Mental keenness follows mental friction. The spirit of comradery led to a higher spirit of friendliness and mutual help. The debating society, where alone—outside of school hours—real subjects were under discussion, laid the foundation for many a statesman's prominence on the floor of the Senate.

To spend four formative years in life not sordid has a moral reflex on the character. The weakest and most illogical college course may be far better than no college training at all. Men can make up for lost time. It is harder to make up for lost inspiration. The American college of the past was a feeble copy of the colleges of England. The American University of to-day draws its inspiration from the deeper currents of German scholarship, and from the still stronger currents of American action.

An Oxford man criticises the great English aggregation of boarding schools, which modern needs are slowly and reluctantly molding into Oxford University. "Our men," he says, "are not scholars: our scholars are not men." The old ideals of education still cherished at Oxford lead to this. Those called scholars,—the dig, the grind, the pedant,—are not men. Their worth is not related to life, and they are not trained for living. The other class, the athletics, the good fellows, the robust British gentleman, these are not scholars. For the lines of thought and action which interest the live man, are not yet reckoned as scholarship in England.

To know nature, life, art, one must go outside the tripos or three sacred pedestals of learning, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, recognized by the conventional college. To the University of Germany he may go, or to the University of America, and in these institutions of reality every man in search of wisdom or power will find his efforts strengthened, his success hastened. The ideal of the American University of to-day is expressed in the words, Constructive Individuality. It would build up scholarship and character, but always on the basis of the powers which nature gave the individual. It is no abstract or ideal man with which it deals, but real men, just as they are, the individuals as created—no two alike, each with his own divine gift of personality, which separate the man that is from all the men that are, or were, or ever will be.

I have used the words college and University in an interchangeable sense. This I have done on purpose, for I do not believe that the distinction, which seems to exist and on which some writers have laid great emphasis, is one which can or ought to be permanent. From the extension of the college the American University has sprung, but every one of these institutions still includes and must include the college, which is the germ. Every successful college points toward the University, and, so far as is possible, it strives to become such. The University is the expression of thoroughness of training, and without thoroughness in something, no institution can live.

It is said that the college is for the average man, the University for the exceptional one. But this is not true as a matter of fact. The average man, the exceptional man, and the man below the average are found in all institutions. The "Bemoostes Haupt," the moss-grown head, grown gray in the struggle for a degree, is well known in the Universities of Germany, while the smallest college of the prairies has been the cherish-

ing mother of many a distinguished scholar.

The fact is that the college is a temporary feature of American educational history. The college is a small University, antiquated, belated, arrested, starved, undeveloped, as the case may be, but with University aspirations to be realized in such degree as it can. The strongest of these find an assured place by the side of the Universities, Brown University and Amherst College, Wesleyan University and Williams College, Colgate University and Smith College. These belong to a single general class, and differ only in name. Each gives the best and broadest undergraduate course its finances afford with as extended a course in graduate study as circumstances make possible. Harvard is the same in kind, though its extension is greater, while the ambition of the college of the prairies is not less nor different.

As time goes on, the college will disappear in fact if not in name. The best and richest colleges will become Universities, following the example of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. The others will return to their places as academies, fitting men for college, as they now try to fit them for the University. Every year shows both these forms of transition. In the last ten years at least a half a dozen of the California colleges have joined the ranks of the high schools, ceasing to grant academic degrees. In other Western and Southern States the same change has taken place. On the other hand, twenty institutions,

which have prided themselves on their contentment as "mere colleges," have reached out in one way or another into graduate work, and many rest their best fame on the influence of some teacher whose originality and thoroughness gave his work the

true University character.

Since Eliot became President of Harvard University, the number of college students in the United States has increased perhaps a hundredfold. This is due to no educational fad, no passing whim of the hour. Young men and young women do not rush by thousands to the Universities every fall because they seek social recognition, because their fathers went to college, because they need a college degree in their business, because of the glory of the football team, nor for any one of a hundred side-reasons which might be conjured up. They go to the University because the University offers training which they want and which they cannot do without, except at a cost which will narrow and cramp their whole after lives.

The student of to-day is far more advanced in thought and action than the student of thirty years ago. The graduate of Harvard under any of Eliot's predecessors could barely enter the freshman class in the Harvard of to-day. Not that he had not studied enough things or spent time enough on them, but because the work of earlier times lacked thoroughness, breadth, and vitality. In one or two narrow lines some great teacher might make his work thorough and real, but that a college student should actually know anything so as to be able to make a place in life by means of such knowledge was to most

of Eliot's predecessors a new and dangerous notion.

This condition of things was changed, not by outside criticism, the chance slurs of men of business or men of leisure,

but by inside growth.

It was thirty years ago that Agassiz told his associates that Harvard was no University,—"only a respectable high school where they taught the dregs of learning." He recognized that for most men the sacred tripos was not the foundation of culture, but the dregs of culture. Its place of importance was assigned not by hope but by tradition. It was the same good old Harvard which Emerson blamed for never having led him to the work of life. But even Emerson was appalled when the study of realities invaded Harvard College, and men began to give themselves not to ideal and tradition, but to serious preparation for the work of life. Once he hinted that "a checkrein should be placed on the enthusiastic young professor who

was responsible" for the destruction of Harvard's time-honored

symmetry.

In Agassiz's answer we touch the key-note of University progress,—not to check the current of effort for symmetry's sake, but to stimulate all possible forms of intellectual growth. "If symmetry is to be obtained by cutting down the most vigorous growth," he said, "it would be better to have a little

irregularity here and there."

It is thirty years since Herbert Spencer startled the English educational world by his question, "What knowledge is most worth?" For the men of Oxford and Cambridge did not value knowledge for its worth, but rather for its traditional respectability. Their knowledge was not "worth" anything. They defined a University as "a place where nothing useful is taught," and they had only contempt for "bread and butter learning," or knowledge related to daily life. This might do for the learned professions, law, medicine, and theology, but even for these the college gave no hint of direct preparation. Herbert Spencer answered his own question in favor of science, the facts and laws of human life and of external nature. These have a real worth to man, which the sacred tripos did not possess. On the belief that knowledge of all kinds has real worth to some one, the modern University rests.

At Champaign ten years ago I had occasion to say: "The University should be the great refuge hut on the ultimate boundaries of Knowledge from which daily and weekly adventurous bands set forth on voyages of discovery. It should be the Upernavik from which Polar travelers draw their supplies. As the shoreless sea of the Unknown meets us on every side, the same house of refuge and supply will serve for a thousand different exploring parties, moving out in every direction into the infinite Ocean. After countless ages of education and scientific progress, the true University will stand on the verge, its walls still washed by the same unending Sea, the boundless

Ocean of possible human Knowledge."

The college of the past dealt chiefly with record and tradition. It sought no new truth and coveted no action. The college life was a period of restful growth, to be cherished for its fragrant memories. It was not a time of forceful struggle for heightened power and deeper wisdom.

The University of to-day is alert to all the problems of social and political development. The poorhouse, the jail, the caucus, the legislature, the army, the discordant demands of freedom and order,—all these call for closest attention of the University While one man studies the law of heredity as shown in the structure of the body cells, another gives equal attention to the fate of the tramp and the pauper. One spends his strength on the economical transference of the electric force, while another works on the conservation of honesty in the public serv-There are just as many classical scholars to-day as there ever were, but they no longer bar the way to men of other powers and other tastes. The classics no longer close the door to other forms of culture. He who writes Latin verses still finds his place in the University, provided only that his verses are good enough to be worth writing. But he no longer occupies the sole place of honor or even the front seat in the lecture hall. The man who knows the steam engine has an equal place in the University and an equal share in the honors of scholarship. With the advent of realities spurious honors disappear. is not for the University to decide on the relative values of knowledge. Each man makes his own market, controlled by his own standards. It is for the University to see that all standards are honest, that all work is genuine. To do this it must cast off many of its own shams of the past. Its titles and privileges, its prizes and honors, its distinctions and degrees, its caps and gowns, and chaplets of laurel berries,-all the playthings and millinery of its youth, it must cast away with its full maturity. These prizes of learning are but baby toys to the man of power. To send forth men of power the University exists.

The value of the University has been under discussion ever since the days of Alfred and Charlemagne, and each nation in each century has formed its own answer. Its value to a monarchy is not the same as its worth to a republic. Its value to the all-embracing Church is not the same as its use to the individual man and woman. The Church looks to the University for its defender and its apologist, the individual man for his own enlightenment and strength. The King looks to the University for agents and advisers, to democracy for the antidote to the demagogue and spoilsman. The Emperor William is reported to have said that "Bismarck and Von Moltke were but the tools by which my august grandfather worked his will." To furnish the Emperor with tools of such edge and temper is the function of the Imperial University. Tools of a still more august ruler are the statesmen of America. Our Washingtons and Lincolns, our Sumners and Hoars, our Lowells and Emersons, -all these are the tools by which the people of the

Republic work their will.

To such needs the modern University is fully alive. Edward Everett Hale tells us that in 1860, when Robert Todd Lincoln entered Harvard College, bringing letters of introduction from Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, there was but one man in Harvard who had ever heard of Lincoln. This was Professor James Russell Lowell, who said at that time: "I suppose that I am the only man in this room who has ever heard of this Abraham Lincoln, but he is the person with whom Douglas has been traveling up and down in Illinois, canvassing the State in their new western fashion as representatives of the two parties, each of them being the candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate."

That Harvard was not long indifferent to what Abraham Lincoln stood for, is shown by the roll of Names in her

Memorial Hall: the list of

"Those whose faith and truth On war's red touchstone rang true metal."

Once awakened to her public duty, our great University has never since slept. Her hand is in all public affairs. Whatever is well done is permeated by her wisdom and zeal, and the

courage and force of her sister institutions.

One can count on his fingers to-day, taking every one. University men without public office or likelihood of any, investigators and professors, who exert a greater influence in any political crisis than Presidents and Cabinets, than orators and agitators, than admirals and generals. The immediate responsibility for action rests with the temporary official, but behind the investigator is the power of eternal truth. Whatever men do or say or pretend, it is the truth that has the last word. This is so sure in the affairs of men that when truth appears plain before them, they throw up their idle weapons and call her God or Fate. And these, indeed, are other names for truth. For the worship of truth the University must stand, and there is but one formula for her ritual. He shall seek her patiently, untiringly. If perchance he find her, then shall he proclaim her, without fear and without reserve.

The American University serves the American Republic in

several ways.

It intensifies individual force and effort. It takes a man's best abilities and raises them to the second or third or the tenth power, as we say in Algebra. The value of the collegebred engineer is recognized in the railroads, in the mines, in the factories. With the same willingness to work as the man who has learned engineering by rule of thumb, he has a far greater adaptability, a far wider command of resources. This fact may not appear in a day or a year, hence some men prefer the ordinary practical man because he is less ambitious and can be had cheap. Sooner or later, however, a condition arises which shows the difference. The wise employer forecasts this and puts the responsibility on the man who is surest to carry it when the real trial comes.

What is true of the educated engineer is equally true in other trades or professions. The ignorant physician makes money because he deals with ignorant men, and the grave covers his blunders. But sooner or later Truth turns her searchlight on pretense, and the educated physician and fraudulent healer are no longer in competition.

The University of to-day has no new mission in these regards. Its purpose has simply broadened year by year till it covers the needs of every man with brains and conscience. Not only the Greek-minded and Roman-minded men, but the man of dynamos and sewer trenches, the breeders of sheep and the importers of silks; for the singer of songs and the writer of histories, for all men of whatever calling, the University has its word of welcome, its touch of power.

The University should give to each man or woman a broader outlook on the world, the horizon of the scholar. No one has the right to the name of scholar till he knows some one thing thoroughly, and enough of other things to place this special knowledge in right perspective. The more deeply one enters into his own thoughts, the more effective he is in accomplishing his own ends. The more broadly he enters into the thoughts of others, the more clearly will he understand his own relation to nature and society.

Through the medium of the University the student is brought face to face with great thoughts and great problems. The wise men of all ages and all climes become his brothers, and the consolations of philosophy to him are not meaningless words, but living and helpful reality.

The University is a source of personal acquaintance with the men and women who shall mold the times to come. The University "gathers every ray of varied genius to its hospitable halls by their concentrated fires to strike the heart of youth in flame." Each University has some great teacher, at least some one who is relatively great. A great teacher leaves a great mark on every student whose life he touches. In my own education nothing meant so much to me as the contact with a few great men whom I knew face to face. Of these I place first Agassiz, with his abounding life, his fearless trust in man and God, and his vital interest in everything that man or God had done. "There is no hope for you," says Thoreau, "unless this bit of sod under your feet is the best for you in this world, in any world." Of such robust optimism was the spirit of Agassiz. No obstacle could break his courage, no failure could dim his faith. To feel the influence and to share the help of such men far outweighs the cost of any college course, even though the college gave nothing else.

But there were many more among my teachers, each great in his degree. I cannot take the time to speak of each in turn, nor would it profit you to listen. Two names may suffice: Andrew Dickson White, the former high-minded and enlightened President of Cornell, the ideal of our class, the pioneer class of his administration in the new University of his hands. To us he embodied all that a scholar should be in the life of the republic. And such an ideal of the scholar in states-

manship President White remains to us to-day.

The other name is that of James Russell Lowell. I can hardly claim him as my teacher, for he did not know me by name or face. I was too young and too raw in his day to be knowable. Yet his rich voice and manly figure are indelibly fixed in my memory, and his noble face rises before me whenever I try to think of the duty of the scholar in the crises of the day.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,"

and to have known Lowell brings a pledge for at least a conscientious decision.

But it is not alone through the teachers that the University educates. The "fellow-feeling among free spirits," which has been called the essence of the German University, arises among the students as well. Among the college students are the best young men and women of our time. They mold each other's characters and guide each other's work. If the University does nothing else, it finds its justification in the friendships which it gives. In Agassiz's eulogy on his friend and helper, Humboldt, he gives a most striking account of the influence

picked men exert upon each other. Teachers and students alike in the University of Munich used to gather in Agassiz's own chamber, "museum, laboratory, library, bedroom, dining room, fencing room, all in one." Students and professors called it "the little academy."

Here they worked and talked and thought, and the discovery of one became the property of all with the same cheerful generosity by which they shared their meals and their earnings. In the college you find the men you trust in after life, and one who does not fail you there will never after give you cause for

regret.

To the University we must look for the promotion of true democracy. Its function as a part of public education is to break up the masses that they may be but living men and women, to draw forth from the multitude the man. The mass is the real foe of democracy, for the slave in all ages has woven his own lash. Where men are driven or sold like sheep, there the tyrant rules. It matters not whether the tyrant be a king in velvet and satin, or a ward boss in a slouch hat and striped waistcoat, when individual intelligence does not rule, men are

governed by brute force.

The vital function of democracy, as I have said many times, is not good government. Its effect is to stimulate the people to broader outlook, to deeper interest in public affairs. It is not to make good government, but to make good citizens, that public affairs are confided to the common man. The feeling of caste is fatal to democracy. The fundamental tenet of civil freedom is equality before the law. In other relations it matters not what inequality develops, the more unlikeness among men the better, because the more varied the power and talents. But unlikeness is not inequality. As "God is no respecter of persons," so the law must not be. The State can show no favoritism. It knows no black nor white, no wise nor simple, no bond nor free. If it place one class above another it is a democracy no longer, and it is not a democracy when any class of men tamely accept an inferior place as theirs by right of birth.

The old education seemed to accentuate the inequalities among men. This was because it took its traditions from aristocratic England, though its real effect was to promote democracy. The great service of the State University, the capsheaf of the public school system, is that it carries the University into democracy without impairing the essential qualities of

either. It furnishes a plain way for every student, the highest as well as the lowest, from the commonest schooling to the training that gives the highest power. So long as the grass does not grow in the path from the farm house to the University, to borrow Ian Maclaren's phrase, so long is the republic safe. So long as the people can become enlightened and wise, rich and poor alike, so long shall government of the people, by the people, and for the people, endure upon the earth. The need of democracy makes a special demand upon the scholar. "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty," and to the scholar on his watch tower the people look for this vigilance. It is the scholar's duty everywhere, in season and out of season, to uphold the sacredness of truth. He must possess, to quote Huxley's words, "some knowledge to the certainty of which authority could add or take away neither one jot nor tittle, and to which the tradition of a thousand years is but as the hearsay of yesterday." This truth it is the scholar's privilege to speak, his duty to proclaim, and that he does this is the best justification of the University from which he drew his inspiration.

"Above all sects is truth." Above all parties and conventions; above all pride and prejudice and passion arise the teachings of nature, the lessons of human experience. To hear these teachings, to learn these lessons is the function of the University. To proclaim them wisely is the function of the scholar, and it is his mission to help permeate the republic with his scholarship. The University must place as fixed beacons in the swaying tides of democracy those men and women who can never be moved by feeble currents, who know what to do, who have the will to do it, and the courage to abide the conse-

quences.

And now in a final word I touch the University's highest value. There is no good in a man's work unless the man himself be good. The highest force of the University lies in its moral training. Not in its precepts and in its sermons, not by ceremonies and formulæ are men influenced for good. If they were, moral culture would be the easiest of all teaching. Nothing costs less than words. But the experience of the ages shows that words count for little in matters like this. It is the contagion of high thought, of noble purpose, of lofty deed that "strikes the heart of youth in flame." "Science," says William Lowe Bryan, "knows no source of life but life. If virtue and integrity are to be propagated, it must be by

people who possess them. If this child-world about us that we know and love is to grow up into righteous manhood and womanhood, it must see how righteousness looks when it is lived. That this may be so, what task have we but to garrison our State with men and women? If we can do that, if we can have in every square mile of our country a man or woman whose total influence is a civilizing power, we shall get from our educational system all that it can give or all that it can desire."

Wisdom, as I have said elsewhere, is knowing what to do next. Virtue is doing it, and Religion is the heart-impulse that finds reason for wisdom and virtue in harmony with the first cause at the heart of things. To these matters the University can never be indifferent. Wisdom, virtue, and religion alike, it is its province to cultivate and intensity. It can accept no shams in wisdom, still less in virtue or in religion, but a life without these is the greatest sham of all. The University cannot promote virtue and piety in any machine fashion. It will not make young men moral nor religious by enforced attendance at church or prayer meeting. It will not awaken the spiritual element in their natures by any system of demerit marks. This the college of our fathers in English fashion tried to do, and with such ill success that the University of to-day bears among the ignorant the reproach of godlessness.

What the University can do is along manly lines. It can cure the boy of petty vices and childish trickery by making him a man, by giving him higher ideals, more serious views of life. It may win by inspiration, not by fear. It must strengthen the student in his search for truth. It must encourage manliness in him through putting away of childish things. Let the thoughts of the student be free as air. Let him prove all things, and he will hold fast to that which is good. Give him a message to speak to others, and when he leaves the University, you need not fear for him, nor the world,

nor the flesh, nor the devil.

The Universities of America have grown enormously in wealth and power within the last twenty-five years. The next twenty-five years will tell the same story. They have the confidence of the people, because they deserve its confidence, and the good citizen of the republic must give them trust and support. In the University at last, the history of democracy must be written.

THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE SOUTH

By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE

Author of Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century

SINCE emancipation, two events have taken place, which, at the time at least, greatly lessened the profound apprehension of the Southern people as to the final outcome of negro citizenship; first, the whites' acquisition of complete political power after a life and death struggle with the Republicans of the Reconstruction period; secondly, the publication of the report of the Census of 1890, showing that the rate of increase for the Southern whites was, during the previous ten years,

much larger than for the Southern blacks.

In the course of the last two years, there has been a notable revival among the Southern people of the old feeling of apprehension on account of the negro. This feeling has especially manifested itself in certain radical measures, which some of their States have recently adopted. During the last quarter of a century the Southern whites have promoted the education of the negro, in the hope of making him a more useful citizen. The expenditures for this purpose have been extraordinary when it is recalled that the War of 1861-65 destroyed so large a part of the property of the South. Discouraged by the results of education as a means of removing the special evils growing out of the presence of an enormous black population, many of the Southern legislatures have passed laws which practically disfranchise the greater proportion of the negroes. In consequence, the masses of that race are no longer a menace to organized local government, but they continue not the less to be a menace to the moral well-being of the communities in which they live.

The keener appreciation of this fact, which the South has recently shown—the more significant as all fear, from a political point of view, has been removed—is traceable to several well-defined causes, which have been becoming steadily more pronounced in their nature. First, the Southern people are able to

perceive clearly the full effect of freedom on the race, now that at least one generation born since emancipation have grown to middle age. As a whole, the black population of the South to-day have never known any other condition but freedom, and practically have been shaped in character by that condition The transmitted influence of slavery has passed away almost entirely with the dying out of the negroes who were bred under that institution. The bad moral tendencies of the black population of the present day—tendencies which have rapidly grown under freedom, and will continue to grow as rapidly as time goes on—are such as to convince the South that this population, unless its numbers shall greatly decline, will each year become a greater factor of disturbance in her social and industrial life. The most lamentable of these tendencies, to mention only two, are shown in the increasing number of assaults by negro men on white women, and in the growing

unskilfulness and unreliability of negro laborers.

The second cause of the renewed apprehension is to be found in the anxiety of the Southern whites to remove every influence that will throw a cloud over the material prospects of their part of the country. There was never a time in their history when they were as active as they are now in developing the varied material resources of their States, or when they recognized so clearly the almost boundless possibilities arising from the possession of these resources. Each year they grow more intolerant of all obstacles in the path of their material prog-But one very serious obstacle exists—the presence of a vast black population. It is not going too far to say that the development of the South would proceed an hundred times faster if this black population could be withdrawn sufficiently gradually to avoid the disorganization of the local labor system. I might go even further and say, that if, to-morrow, the entire Southern country could be turned back to its primeval condition, if the sites of its cities, its fields of cotton, tobacco, and wheat, its roads and railway tracks, could be changed to virgin forest, as at the Discovery, and the only tenants of those green solitudes were the wild beasts of the woods, in less than seventy years that same country, settled anew by a white population exclusively, as it would be, would reach a greater pitch of wealth and prosperity than it is likely to do in the same length of time with a large black population to create all those drawbacks to progress which the presence of that population in great numbers invariably creates everywhere.

The removal of the negroes from the South would result in at least three conspicuous advantages to that part of the Union,

First, the population of the Southern States, instead of being composed, as it is now, of two races, entirely different in temperament and capacity, and strongly antagonistic to each other in spirit, would, by the withdrawal of the negro, become thoroughly homogeneous, a condition of incalculable strength, as the history of the greatest nations of Europe show.

Secondly, the reputation of the South for orderliness and regard for law would be greatly advanced thereby. No matter how necessary for the protection of their wives and daughters the Southern whites may consider the lynching of negroes for the crime of rape to be, the recurrence of that summary form of punishment is well calculated to give the impression abroad that the Southern people have not the reverence for law distinguishing every community that can justly claim to be civilized. No one but an actual resident of the crowded black districts of the South can fully understand the motives which cause such short shrift to be given to negro ravishers. feeling in which these lynchings have their origin, would, under the same circumstances, arise in the breasts of the most lawabiding people in the world. I venture to say, that if, to-morrow, five million negroes from the plantations of the Southern States were transported to England - perhaps the most orderly community on the face of the globe-to take the place of the white laborers who are fast abandoning the farms of Surry and Devon, Hampshire and Gloucester, and the other counties, in less than six months the ravishment of English women would The first criminals would be tried with all proper solemnity, but, in less than twelve months, the immemorial oaks of the beautiful vales of England would be desecrated with the swinging bodies of the black victims of English "lynching bees." Human nature is the same everywhere; but until the peculiar crime of the Southern negro is brought close home to outside people, the world at large is going to think that one infraction of the law, however heinous or revolting, does not justify another infraction; moreover, it will continue to think that the disregard of due process of law in lynching for rape encourages a disregard for the due process of law in the case of every other great crime. Such a conclusion is thoroughly unjust to the South, but not the less for that reason must she pay the penalty for this opinion of the world in the cloud which it throws over her material prospects—a cloud that would have no existence whatever but for the presence of the blacks, the only cause of her apparent indifference to law. As long as the negro lives in the South, the lynchings will be repeated, because the crime of rape is sure to continue to be committed.

Thirdly, the presence of a large black population in the South is, at the present time at least, discouragement to immigration on a great scale. So low is the negro's standard of life as to lodging, food, and clothes, that it would be difficult even for the European continental laborer, accustomed to small wages and few comforts, to compete with him in the rural districts as a common workingman for hire in the field. Immigration of farm hands hailing from abroad is not, for many years to come, likely to be observed in those parts of the South where the blacks still form the bulk of the laborers. Social equality with the most degraded field hands in the Western World, the inevitable result of working with them as fellow employees, would in itself be sufficient to drive off that sturdy class of agricultural laborers who have done so much to advance the prosperity of

the rural parts of the North.

Why does not a countless multitude of thrifty immigrants, like the first settlers of the West, pour into the South? In the fertility and cheapness of its lands, the variety of its products, the mildness of its climate, it is certainly equal to any other part of the Union, and yet that mighty stream of immigration, which has been filling up the Western States during so many years, has only in driblets been diverted to the Southern. Before the war, the existence of slave institutions in the South was the true explanation of the smallness of the number of persons, who, coming from abroad, made their home on its soil. Doubtless, the recollection of those institutions and the lingering of the prejudices which they caused in the minds of the world at large, accounts, in some measure, for the failure of immigration, so far, to turn in a great volume to the Southern States, now that slavery has perished and the entire system of those States has been adjusted on the basis of the freedom of the negro. But this is not the full explanation of that failure, especially when it is remembered that the Southern white people, as a body, now extend the heartiest encouragement to all schemes looking to the increase of the population of their part of the country by bringing in persons from the North and West and foreign lands. The chief explanation lies in the presence of a vast multitude of negroes, whose bad reputation as a race, and

the lawlessness which their crimes provoke, are well calculated to deter large movements of population into all districts where

they predominate in numbers.

When it is recalled that only thirty-five years ago, a short period in the life of a people, the South was left, by the fortune of war, in a state of complete prostration, with its fields trampled underfoot, its farm buildings burnt down, its live stock killed or driven off, its railroads bankrupted, its personal securities wiped out or enormously depreciated, its property in slaves, the chief basis of values, destroyed, and the flower of its manhood dead in battle—when it is recalled, in addition, that for twelve years after the close of the war, one-third of the period of thirty-five which has passed since that event, the Southern governments were in the hands of ignorant negroes and unscrupulous white men, the most corrupt combination that the world has seen in modern times, whose single aim was to plunder the South of the little of value which had emerged from the wreck of Appomattox—when all this is borne in mind, does not the progress which that part of the Union has made, a progress which had no opportunity to begin until about twenty-three years ago, when the Federal troops were withdrawn, appear to be one of the most remarkable facts in the history of the present age, marvelous as that history has been along the line of material growth.

It is not an exaggeration to say that this progress is to be attributed almost wholly to Southern intelligence and energy. It is Southern capital which has already made the Carolinas one of the principal centres of cotton manufacture in America; which is fast making Alabama the foremost producer of iron on the continent; and which is turning a large part of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia into an almost boundless truck garden. The Southern people have not stood in idleness in the hope that the capital of the North, or England, would be offered for the development of their industries, nor have they waited for the diversion to their section of those bands of immigrants, who have, in the West, taken up the virgin soil and trebled and quadrupled the value of the land already under cultivation. If the growth of the South has been extraordinary as the result of the combined efforts of its own sons, in the face of much to discourage them, how much greater it would have been if, during the last twenty-five years, one ceaseless stream of immigrants, and one continuous volume of capital, had been pouring over its borders to unite with the energy and the capital of the native

population in opening up all the natural sources of wealth which it possessed. The negro is chiefly responsible for the difference.

Is he to be forever a clog upon the social and industrial wheels of the South? This is a question which may well tax the powers of the greatest sage or statesman now living to answer with even an approach to correctness. That the entire black population will be withdrawn from the Southern States within any comparatively brief period of time is certainly beyond the range of the remotest probability. What will be the ultimate effect of the enormous development of these States in a material way, upon the growth of that population, can only be surmised. That this development may at least lead to the retirement of the great mass of blacks to parts of the South not naturally suited to be the home of white men in great numbers, on account of the unhealthy climate, is not at all improbable. The most fertile division of the Southern States east of the Mississippi lies in the Piedmont, which extends from the Potomac to Northern Alabama. Already the black population of this part of the South is too small to exercise any real influence in impeding its further growth in prosperity. It is in the vast extent of country between the Piedmont and the seacoast that the negroes are now concentrated, and where they are sure to be found for many decades in the future, either living in widely distributed communities as at present, or gradually drifting in multitudes towards a few centres.

What is the chance in the end of that population, at least in part, drifting out of the South? For many years to come, large numbers of negroes are certain to emigrate to the North, in order to meet the demand for common laborers in the opening up of great public or private enterprises. It is not at all improbable that concerted movements of the black population like that observed many years ago in the exodus to Kansas, will take place in the near future. On the other hand, schemes looking to the removal of the bulk of this population to some country lying outside of the area of the United States are not likely to have any practical success, unless new conditions, now unforeseen, arise. The negroes will for a long period be found chiefly in the South. If any influence should spring up in the future, which will either extinguish the race entirely on this continent, or check its present rate of growth, that influence must spring up in the Southern States. Destructive influences in operation in other parts of the Union will have no conclusive bearing on the question whether the negro shall remain an inhabitant of North America or not.

Looking at the Southern negroes in the circumstances in which we find them to-day, I can discover at least one influence at work which seems to me almost certain to have a far reaching effect in diminishing their increase in numbers. This influence grows out of the rapid subdivision of the soil now going As is well known, the lands of the South were, before the war between the States, held, as a rule, in tracts of many thousand acres. The tendency was always in the direction of the extension of the boundaries of each plantation, not towards their contraction. The large plantation was proportionately more profitable than the small, owing to the fact that, with slave labor, it was cheaper to open up a new field by cutting down the forest, than to maintain the fertility of an old field by heavily manuring it from year to year. The larger the plantation the more virgin soil in wood was there to turn into culti-The wider, too, was the range for herds of vated ground. cattle, which were left pretty well to seek their own forage. Pride, inherited from English ancestors, had something to do with the enlargement of individual holdings in land. The abolition of slavery was the deathblow of the large plantation, because it placed the whole system of labor on a less conservative and reliable footing. Moreover, as the slave was the basis of all values, the destruction of their right of property in him, crippled the great body of Southern planters, and made them less able to meet the expense of carrying on farming operations on a great scale. As, before the war, the tendency was towards a further enlargement of the plantation, so, since the war, the tendency has been towards the curtailment of holdings, as requiring a smaller outlay of money to cultivate them and less dependence upon negro labor. In thirty-five years the progress in subdivision has been so extensive, great acceleration having been given to it by the falling off in agricultural prices, making economy more necessary, that a large part of the Southern States is now held in tracts so small that the owners can till their fields with their own hands, with aid only from the members of their families, or from a few white or black hired

The day is sure to come when the entire area of Southern lands in all those parts of the country which have a good soil and healthy climate will be divided into comparatively small tracts worked by their owners with need of but little assistance.

So far as the subdivision has gone, the negroes have not obtained a share in proportion to their numbers, and, even when that subdivision shall have been carried to its extreme limit, it is not likely that the extent of landed property which they will then hold, will ever be remarkable, considering the great multitude of the people of that race. Subdivision of the soil will mean a decline in the demand for negro labor; a decline in the demand for negro labor will mean a harsher condition of life for the blacks. Such a condition will check the numerical growth of the race, and, perhaps, also cause a movement of population towards those parts of the far South where the negro is better fitted to live than the white man. Subdivision of land will also force larger numbers into the Southern cities, where they will always find employment in the performance of household work or the rough tasks of the streets. Here, they will continue to show that same high rate of mortality which to-day is so destructive to the urban black population everywhere. Subdivision of land will, I believe, also have the effect of driving a great multitude to the towns of the North and West. Pressed to its extreme limit—a limit which may not be reached before the close of the next century, a short time in the history of a peoplethe subdivision of the lands of the South will elbow the bulk of the race from that section to such an extent that it will amount to as complete a solution of the problem which their presence creates, as if some practical means had been found for their exclusion.

Admitting that the subdivision of the Southern lands will, when fully carried out, have the effect of pressing the bulk of the black population from the soil of a large part of the South, it is, nevertheless, clear that this consummation can only be reached after a long interval of time has passed. What are the chances of improvement in the general character of the negroes as citizens in the meanwhile? Suppose that consummation is never arrived at, and the black population, instead of diminishing, goes on steadily increasing in numbers, without showing the slightest disposition to emigrate from the Southern States, what is the prospect of the negro becoming a respectable, lawabiding, and useful member of the community to which he belongs? I have had unusual opportunities of studying the blacks in those Southern localities in which they surpass the whites in number in the proportion of three and four to two. I will say here that it is only in the rural communities that the race forms the problem which it is so difficult to solve. It is in such communities that the masses are concentrated. While there is a large black population in all the Southern cities, that population is small as compared with the black population in the rural districts. It is to these districts that we must go if we would measure the rate of progress or retrogression which the race has made. Many negroes in the towns have accumulated property and acquired education. Even there the general level of the race is very low, whether we look at it from the point of view of ignorance or poverty, but it is not quite so low as the general level of the race in the country; nor has it the same significance, since, in the country, the black population is numbered by millions, instead of by thousands, as in the cities.

My observation extends over a period of twenty-five or thirty years, which has enabled me to form some estimate of the character of the new generation of negroes, brought up altogether under free institutions, as compared with the character of the generation receiving this freedom, after a large part of their lives, especially the whole of their childhood and early manhood, had been passed in slavery. It is melancholy to have to state as my conclusion that the negro of to-day, who has been free from birth, is, in many of the most important lines of his conduct, very much inferior to his father, who was once a slave. It would be false to say that in the rural districts of the South, the negro has, in the course of the last quarter of a century, made any real progress in morality in the ordinary affairs of life. In some directions of the utmost significance, the race has so clearly retrograded that one is forced to the opinion that the man of yesterday, who had spent most of his life in bondage, was far better equipped to be a useful member of the community than is the man of to-day, who was born free and has, from his earliest years, been brought under all the influences of a state of freedom. It is true that from a political point of view, the negro of yesterday was as deficient as the negro of to-day. The fathers were as ignorant and blind in the use of the ballot as the sons are now, but, from a moral point of view, it has been left to the sons to add to the criminal record of their race, its most numerous and most atrocious chapters; and, from an economical point of view, it has been left to them to diminish the usefulness of their people enormously by their steady decline in skill and industry as laborers.

The greater tendency to crime in the negro of the present day as compared with the negro of the past, is largely the outgrowth of the entire lack of discipline during his early years. In the age of slavery, the parents exercised a much stricter control over their children than they do now; first, because they themselves had been brought up under very stern restraints; secondly, because they were afraid to bring down on themselves the reprimands of their masters, should their offspring be guilty of any form of lawlessness. The head of every plantation gave a more or less careful supervision to the young slaves, as well as to the adult. He was quick to command and enforce the punishment of any negro child or youth, whose conduct had been bad. The little slave recognized that he was under more than one set of vigilant eyes. Necessarily, the atmosphere of the plantation where he lived was one of order in every way, and growing up under this influence from infancy, the young negro unconsciously responded to it, to the great benefit of his character, so far at least as the more serious breaches of law were concerned.

Under the new system, the only personal influence in the way of discipline brought to bear on the young negro in the country, is that exercised by his parents alone, a man and woman by no means destitute of affection for their offspring, but who have known but little, if any, self-control themselves to make them capable of enforcing lessons of good conduct, even if they had a fairly clear idea of the true standard of right and wrong in daily life. They are ignorant themselves, perhaps even worse, and their example is only too often calculated to encourage their children in that course which, in so many cases, stops only in the State prison, or at the end of the lynchers' rope.

In the altered conditions now prevailing in the South, the white owner of the land on which the black child lives, makes no effort to bring any form of discipline to bear on that child, even when the latter's existence is known to him, and his aid is rarely, if ever, sought by his laborers in controlling their offspring. The young negro, even before the period of full manhood is reached, escapes from his parents, and, at the very time he is most susceptible to every sort of evil influence, leaves the neighborhood in which he was born, drifts here and there in remote parts of the country, and develops, in only too many cases, a strong disposition to commit any crime which can be done furtively. Is it surprising that, with no moral training in childhood and youth, with no recollection of any intelligent punishment, if punished at all, for bad conduct, and with natural instincts for evil, inflamed by their restless lives, the young

negroes of to-day are much more inclined to lawlessness than their fathers? Pilfering was common enough among the slaves, but it was carried on in a small way, and was confined to a few articles of no great value. To such a degree have the thieving propensities of the race been developed under the new conditions of life in the South, that there are some forms of farm production which have almost ceased wherever the blacks are found in great numbers. Sheep husbandry is one, fruit-raising is another. Orchards, for the most part, have not been renewed, because it has been practically impossible to save them

from wholesale depredation.

But this thieving disposition would be overlooked if the lawlessness of the blacks stopped there. It has, however, taken a form the least likely to be tolerated by the white people, its victims. Some twelve years ago, in a work entitled The Plantation Negro as a Freeman, I ventured to predict that, as time went on, the crime of rape would greatly increase, first, because the young negroes were growing steadily more and more vicious in consequence of the entire lack of discipline in their early lives; secondly, because, owing to the little association between the two races, the negroes' fear of the whites was rapidly falling That prediction has been verified. The record of the blacks of the Southern States in the case of rape, has, during the last few years, been the foulest hitherto known, and there is every prospect that the number of instances of this crime will still further increase in spite of its summary punishment. It is no exaggeration to say that already, in all parts of the South where the negroes predominate, a white woman is as reluctant to go any great distance from home unprotected, as if it was a land of East Indian jungles haunted by ferocious wild beasts. To such a pitch has the crime of rape been carried recently in Georgia, that, in order to put a stop to its further commission, it has been seriously proposed in that State that each county should keep a body of militia practically on a war footing. Rape is the crime of the free negro, of the negro brought up under the new system without respect for morality or law, and who gratifies every beastly propensity as far as it is safe to do so at the moment. It has done more to alienate from him the good will of the white people of the South than all his other crimes taken together.

The decline in the general conduct of the negro is not restricted to questions of law and morality. There are few employers of labor in the South who have had opportunities of comparing the work of negroes brought up as slaves, with the work of those brought up as freemen, who will not testify to the inferiority of the latter, in skill and industry. Nor is the reason far to seek. As soon as the young negro under the old system reached an age when he had sufficient strength, he was put in the field, and there kept under constant supervision. The master had the power to punish him for indolence, inattention, or carelessness. Trained under the eye of an experienced overseer, and compelled to work steadily and intelligently, he became, by the mere force of habit, both a skilful and an industrious laborer, nor did he as a rule cease to be either when the result of the war converted him from a slave into a freedman. No employer of young black field hands in the South to-day has any ability really to teach them, as his control over them is necessarily small. Nor would there be any motive to do so, as to-morrow the whole gang might drop their hoes, or leave their plows, and be off without his having any power to stop them. It is difficult to manage them, far more to train them, owing to their restless spirit, their indisposition to continuous labor, and their hostility to all forms of authority.

Under the old system, there was not a plantation which did not have its slave mechanics, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, shoemakers, and the like. Many of these men were able to do a high order of work, and they were justly proud of their skill. Practically there are no black mechanics in the rural districts of the South to-day, not because the field offers no room for mechanics, the presence of white ones disproving this, but because the young negroes detest the steady, arduous, and confining labors of the shop. They refuse to apprentice themselves to trades. Those familiar with the entire absence of black mechanics in nearly all the rural parts of the South, often ask in surprise: What becomes of the negroes who have been instructed in the numerous industrial schools which have been established in the Southern States since the war? Do they pursue the trades in which they were taught, or do they, in most cases, abandon these trades as soon as they leave the schools? The scarcity of such graduates, in the rural shops at least, would seem to show that they either give up their trades altogether, or settle in towns and villages in spite of the sharp competition of white rivals. The former cause is the one most probably followed.

The distaste of the young male negroes of the present day for mechanical pursuits finds a counterpart in the disinclination

of the young women to do household work for the whites. The question of household service has become far more difficult in the rural communities of the South where there are large numbers of negroes, than in the urban communities where the proportion of the black to the white population is so much smaller. The domestic servants brought up under the old régime have almost entirely passed away. It has not been possible to fill their places with others, trained, like them, from an early age in the household. So serious is the difficulty of securing domestic servants in the rural districts that it is having an important influence in driving the remnant of the gentry from the country to the cities, leaving behind a white population that has always done its own household work with little

assistance from negroes.

The tendency towards the subdivision of the lands of the South, to which attention has been called, has already had a marked effect upon the mutual relations of the blacks and whites. In the subdivision, it is the former overseer class that is acquiring possession of the soil, a class which, under the old system, occupied a most useful position in the community, but not one which was much respected by the slaves, who looked down on all the whites not large property holders. This class of whites fell under the general denomination of "poor white trash," which was the slaves' most sweeping term of opprobrium. It is not going too far to say that, if it had been possible to maintain under free institutions, the large plantation system which prevailed under slave, the relations of whites and blacks would, to-day, have been much more kindly, and, in consequence, the crimes committed by the blacks against the whites would have been far less numerous. How would the kinder relations have been explained? First, there would have been a powerful class of white men in each Southern community, who bore names held in immemorial honor by the negroes, and who commanded their highest respect by large possessions. The strict order and discipline observed before the war could have been enforced, to-day, over vast multitudes of blacks by this class, if the great estates still remained in their hands. The continuation of the large plantation system would have made the blacks more dependent on the good will of the whites, and, therefore, more disposed to cultivate that good will by industry and sobriety of conduct. Only amid such influences as these, could the free negro have been brought under any sort of control in his daily life.

As the case now stands, the negro sees the entire white people in large divisions of country engaged in working the ground with their own hands for a livelihood. There is little in their present condition as small land-owners, renters on shares, or common laborers for hire, to make the negro think that persons of that race occupy a far superior position to himself in the matter of property, and, as his respect for men is gauged chiefly by their possessions and manner of life, it is not surprising that, in his eyes, the prestige of the whites has been vastly lowered. When a negro finds himself on one of the few large estates still held intact, working as a renter on a footing of equality with a half dozen white renters, or when he finds himself on a small estate plowing or hoeing at the side of his employer, who is a type of the entire mass of whites in the community, is it remarkable that he should not think the gulf between the two races after all so great? The whites themselves resent this attitude on his part, and the feeling shows itself in a violent way on the smallest provocation. It is in this diminished respect for the whites, aggravated by the retaliations which it causes, that there is to be discovered an important explanation of the lawlessness of the negroes towards the white people. It is a partial explanation of the crime of rape, and, in turn, it is a partial explanation of the summary manner in which that crime is punished.

It can be truly said that under the new conditions prevailing in all the rural districts of the South, the beneficial influence which the society of the whites formerly exercised over the character and conduct of the negroes has passed away almost entirely. The separation of the two races is far more remarkable than would have been thought possible, when it is remembered that they live together in the same neighborhoods and under the same local government. No social intercourse is now to be observed between the two. There was a time when all the principal occasions in the lives of the blacks, such as their weddings, funerals, and religious meetings, were largely attended by the whites, and, on the other hand, there was a time when the same occasions in the lives of the whites were largely attended by the blacks. This is not the case now. One would think that in religion, at least, the separation would not be so great. Under the old system, there were galleries set apart for the negroes in every rural church of the whites, and, for years after the war; many of the former slaves continued to use these galleries. This is no longer observed. So clearly is

the fact that the negroes dislike to come to the churches of the white people, recognized, that no provision is now made there for seats for persons of that race. The blacks not only keep strictly to their own houses of worship, but also rarely, if ever, invite the white preachers of their neighborhoods to deliver sermons before them.

A further evidence of the gulf between the two races is the extreme rarity of the cases in which whites and blacks seek to violate the law against their intermarriage. One of the first measures adopted by each Southern State after the war, was a statute prescribing a heavy penalty in every instance of such attempted intermarriage. Time has shown that there was little, if any, practical need for such a provision. Every year would have diminished the probability of such intermarriages, even if

they had been declared legal.

A far more significant evidence of the separation of the races is the almost complete cessation of illicit sexual intercourse between the two outside of the towns and cities. In the latter, the intercourse is more frequent because more casual. The parties are not apt to be known to each other, and, therefore, there is little danger of detection. In the rural districts, on the other hand, the homes of the population are more fixed, and the individuals of both races have, at least, a personal knowledge of each other. In such a community, the ability of a negro woman to presume upon an immoral intimacy, and the certainty of exposure in consequence, create a deterring influence that few white men are ready to disregard, however indifferent they may be to the moral aspects of such association. In consequence of the great falling off in the illicit sexual commerce between the two races in the country, there is a fast increasing tendency in the black population to revert physically to the original type, and, as the result of this, to all the moral qualities of the African of unmixed blood. It is well known that the mulattoes themselves, male and female, have no objection to intermarriage with the blackest negroes. Now that their former number in each community is not maintained by marriages among themselves, or by additions through the whites' immoralities, they are rapidly disappearing in the rural districts, leaving a mere trace of their former existence in the moderately light complexions of their descendants for several generations.

The reversion to the original type will serve to diminish still further the number of the points of social contact between the

whites and blacks, and make still more improbable all prospect of even partial amalgamation by either lawful or illicit sexual intercourse. The pure negro is very much inferior to the mulatto, not only in physical beauty, but also in mental force and grasp. With his reversion to the extreme African type, the chances of his intellectual improvement decline and the certainty of his growing to be a still greater weight on the

prosperity of the community increases.

Wherever, in the South, the blacks are very numerous, we find them drifting steadily into large communities of their own, as far removed from all the whites as is possible under the local circumstances. This disposition to congregate has no element of moral health in it. The more the negroes are concentrated locally, the more rapidly they retrograde. In every neighborhood in which we find them thus living in great numbers together, we observe the operation in a small field of all those evil qualities, which, by operation in a large field, have made Haiti a scandal to the world. The absence of orderliness and cleanliness, chastity and a regard for the rights of property are only too conspicuous. Such a community is a source of endless annoyance and trouble to the white people wherever it exists.

One of the most remarkable, and, in many ways, one of the most disheartening features of the negro's character is his intemperance when set up in a position of authority or power. If there had not already been proof enough of this quality in the course of the Reconstruction period, it would be furnished by two events in the recent history of the South. First, by the conduct of the black officials lately in control of the municipal government of Wilmington, N. C. The fact that the city was practically in the hands of negro rulers, not only turned the heads of those rulers themselves, but also raised such a spirit of aggressive insolence in all classes of the black population that the state of affairs became finally wholly intolerable to the whites. Nothing but the courage and determination of the latter prevented the relegation of Wilmington to a condition as disorderly and ruinous as that prevailing in Puerto Prince in Haiti. Such would be the condition of every city in the South if abandoned, even for a few years, to the intemperance and corruption of the rule of negroes.

Hardly less striking, though less concentrated locally, has been the effect upon the Southern negroes of the participation of their race as volunteer soldiers in the war between this country and Spain. It is not going too far to say of the conduct of the soldiers themselves, wherever they were stationed in the Southern States, that it was only too often that of men bent on violence and destruction in a spirit of the purest wantonness. The black regiments soon came to be a terror to the communities to which they were ordered, and if they had been allowed to follow their own impulse, would have threatened the peace of the entire South. It was not simply the volunteers' example which had a bad influence on the people of their race The knowledge of the bare fact that black soldiers were enlisted in large numbers in the armies of the United States, for the prosecution of hostilities, seemed to create a spirit of more or less aggressive intemperance in the entire body of Southern negroes, in consequence of which, the year of the war was darkened by more outrages committed by them against the whites, than had been committed during the whole of the previous decade. Let the impression get abroad among the mass of negroes that the importance of their race has been increased in some manner - social, political, or military - and there is soon observed in their bearing an offensiveness which has at once the effect of straining all friendly relations with the whites. It always ends in the complete discomfiture of the negroes.

The question will be asked by many, What is education doing to make the negro a more temperate, industrious, and capable citizen? It is a fact deserving of attention, that thirtyfive years after the establishment in the South of public schools for the blacks, there is but one person of their race in that part of the Union sufficiently eminent to have a national reputation. This is Booker T. Washington. Fifteen years ago, when the generation born and bred in slavery had not passed away, there were not less than a half dozen Southern negroes who were known from one end of the United States to the other. It would appear, therefore, that even the comparatively high grade of instruction which the blacks receive in the urban schools has done nothing to lift even a few members of their race, in the way of personal distinction, high above the general multitude. It is a fact of equal interest in this connection, that in the Northern States, where, for two-thirds of a century at least, the African citizens have had every educational advantage, there is not a single one to-day who has risen to a position of great local, much less to great national influence. If the highest grades of the public schools all over the United States, have accomplished so little towards the intellectual improvement of the race, that practically the whole body of it occupy the same dead level of obscurity, it is hardly to be expected that about six months annual attendance in school in the rural districts of the South, would make any profound impression on the youthful negroes who enjoy its benefits. It can be said with truth that so far the public school system has not proved a panacea for the special ills springing from the presence of the great numbers of blacks living in the South. It has not so far made the mass more intelligent or more sober citizens in general. There are many who think, apparently not without good reason, that the knowledge imparted in the public schools has had something to do with the growing inefficiency and unreliability of the young field hands by giving them aspirations which it is impossible for them to realize. The moral influence of the school system in the crowded black districts of the South, I believe, from personal observation of its effects in many of these districts, to amount practically to nothing in the repression of the worst impulses of the race, or in the cultivation of their better qualities. Perhaps this arises largely from the fact that, as long as the negroes are conjugated in communities of their own, the evil growing out of such association is not to be overcome by any local influence whatever. The only remedy lies in the complete dispersion of such communities.

Whatever destiny may be in store for the Southern negro, whether his race is, or is not, to decline in numbers, or even disappear altogether, in consequence of the destructive economical and moral influences which we have described, the future of the Southern States, as one of the wealthiest and most prosperous parts of the Western World, is now assured beyond all reasonable doubt. The presence of vast multitudes of blacks may retard, in a measure, the development of those States' material resources, but their power to work harm, even in a modified degree, is sure to grow less as the white population increases. There is no conceivable influence which can permanently check the material growth of the South now going on, and when that growth has reached the far greater proportions to which it is so rapidly tending, every impediment to its further progress will be removed by the irresistible force which it will bring to bear. It is the ultimate fate of the American negro which is really in the balance, not the ultimate fate of the Southern States. The darkest day for the Southern whites has passed, though they still have ground to be apprehensive as to the present effect of the evil influences emanating from the black population in their midst. The darkest day for the Southern negroes has only just begun, for, in this age of the world, no race can, in the long run, hold its own in a civilized community, unless it has all the moral qualities which are necessary to meet successfully the conditions of modern life. Have the negroes, as a mass, these indispensable qualities? If not, will they be able to acquire them, as the struggle for existence grows more and more difficult? Upon the answer to this question, the future of the race in this country depends.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

By REV. C. W. E. BODY, D. D.

RARELY have the prospects of the English Church appeared brighter or more peaceful there are brighter or more peaceful than at the close of the great Lambeth Conference of 1897. That gathering of some two hundred Bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled from every part of the world had been marked by an almost unprecedented harmony of temper and feeling. The pilgrimages of the Conference to the Isle of Thanet to celebrate the landing of St. Augustine, and to Glastonbury as the cradle of British Christianity—(impressive memorials of the continuity of the Church and of its manifold lines of descent) - gave fitting expression to the strength and hope which were everywhere manifesting themselves. On every side the prospect seemed clear and bright. The relations of Canterbury to Rome were at least, if not more hopeful, certainly more clearly defined than they had been for centuries. The Papal Bull, condemning Anglican Orders as invalid, followed by the crushing rejoinder of the English Archbishops, had put an end to complications on that side, and left a sharply marked situation not likely to be materially changed for many decades to come. At home the perils of Disestablishment, which had threatened the Welsh Dioceses, had been triumphantly overcome, and the growing influence of the Church made it every year less likely that any Government, at least in the near future, would repeat the disastrous experiment of 1895. All seemed favorable to that leisure for quietly carrying forward her own spiritual work which is so congenial to the genius of the English Church, but which, in her stormy career, she has so seldom continuously enjoyed.

It was, then, as a bolt out of a clear sky that the closing months of 1897 brought with them the beginnings of a controversy which has continued with almost unabated force down to the present time. An attempt impartially to trace its causes and the aims of the several parties concerned may not be without interest to American readers.

The first shot of the campaign was fired by the publication in September, 1897, of Mr. Walsh's book on "the secret history of the Oxford movement." The book has little permanent value, but was a clever controversial attempt to throw over the whole Oxford movement, the stigma of two qualities most repugnant to the average Englishman; unfair secrecy of method, and a deliberate purpose of Romanising the Church of England. Introduced with the added flavor of revelations from authentic documents hitherto carefully guarded from publicity, it contrived to excite a widespread attitude of suspicion and mistrust. This was soon followed by the appearance on the scenes of Mr. John Kensit, a London bookseller and publisher, who gained considerable notoriety for himself by sensational disturbances in some Ritualistic Churches in London, and by a public protest at the confirmation of the present Bishop of London at Bow Church, on the ground of Ritualistic leanings. The first of these disturbances took place at St. Cuthbert's Phillimore Gardens, and was aimed at a special service known as the "Veneration of the Cross," which was beyond all question illegal, and entirely out of place in an Anglican Church. The feeling in magisterial quarters that Mr. Kensit and his followers, although adopting methods of violence in themselves disgraceful, were yet trying to stem a tide of lawlessness on the part of the clergy, was strong enough to protect them from the legal penalties which, under ordinary circumstances, would have speedily followed. Mr. Kensit, emboldened by this immunity, announced that he would organize disorderly protests in 1,000 churches on the first Sunday in November, 1898, but at the last moment he abandoned this scheme. Since that date he has confined himself to protests of a less questionable character, delivered at Church Congresses, and at the meeting of the Archbishops at Lambeth, to determine the lawfulness of certain ceremonial usages. His constant theme has been the supineness of the Bishops, and the hopelessness of expecting a remedy for present evils at their hands. Meanwhile, a vigorous correspondence was being carried on in the Times newspaper, which continued almost uninterruptedly from April, 1898, to the end of that year. The chief part in this correspondence was played by Sir William Harcourt, grandson of a former Archbishop of York and quondam leader of the Liberal party. Sir William maintained the thoroughgoing Erastian positions, for which he is well known, and which, in days gone by, brought him into direct collision with his leader, Mr. Gladstone. The Church was completely subservient to Parliament. The Bishops were to blame for not enforcing the law, which was assumed to be in all points clearly against the Ritualistic clergy. The objections of High Churchmen to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as a court of Ecclesiastical Appeal, were groundless. A short and easy method with the Ritualists was all that was necessary. They must no longer find shelter under the exercise of the Episcopal "veto." About the same time appeared the manifesto of the Church Association, a somewhat discredited association for putting down Ritualism by prosecu-

tions and appeal to the strong arm of the law.

The animus of this document was sufficiently obvious. It maintained that "those really to blame were the electors of the United Kingdom." For "every voter has it in his power to determine who shall be Prime Minister and therefore, indirectly, who shall be made Bishops. Had Protestants, irrespective of sect or party, been in deep earnest, they would have long ago compelled the Prime Minister of the day to alter the style of his nominations. The only force to which a politican must bow is the voting power possessed by the Commons of Eng-This unblushing appeal to political force for the settlement of spiritual matters, with the equally candid invitation to all voters, whether Nonconformist or Agnostic, to determine matters peculiar to the English Church was followed by an angry indictment of the Bishops. They "had conspired together to 'veto' any attempt on the party of the laity to make the clergy fulfil the solemn contract made when they entered the ministry." Unfortunately for this last contention, it soon transpired that the "veto" complained of had been put in motion only an exceedingly small number of times, and in almost every case with the amplest justification on grounds of equity irrespective of the merits of the case. The political aspect of the matter was however not allowed to drop. A scheme for taking Church discipline out of the hands of the Bishops and remitting it to secular tribunals was brought forward in Lancashire (always a stronghold of Protestantism in England) and pressed upon all Members of Parliament. It became a test issue in several bye-elections. Finally the Bill embodying its proposals was brought forward for a second reading in the House of Commons in May, 1899, and rejected by the over-whelming majority of 310 to 156. The Attorney-General in the debate characterized the bill as "creating new offenses and ignoring the authority of the Bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church." Sir John Kennaway, one of the most trusted leaders of the Low Church party agreed that it was an "impossible bill." Greatly, therefore, to the credit of the English people the appeals to mob violence and popular clamor failed of their purpose. Parliament refused to move in the matter unless it were clearly seen that the Bishops were unable or unwilling to maintain the due discipline of the Church. All matters in controversy were left to the proper authorities of the Church to deal with. At the same time the resolution to permit no such changes in the Church as would substantially alter its character was manifest on all sides. The leader of the Government, Mr. Balfour, voiced this general feeling in the following words:

I do not conceal my belief that if the Church of England is to remain the Church of the great majority of this people, Established or Disestablished, it must be that ancient institution as it was purified and remodeled at the time of the Reformation. It is, indeed, the Church of St. Augustine and St. Anselm, but it is something more. It is the Church whose doctrines were purified and whose ritual was simplified in the sixteenth century, and it is only so long as it preserves this character, it can hope to preserve the affections of the English people.

This thoroughly sensible and moderate requirement of Mr. Balfour simply expressed the necessary condition implied in an Established Church. To quote the Duke of Argyll:

I know of only one condition which is inseparable from all Established Churches. They must not be allowed, except by consent, to change their identity.

Whatever else the Papacy may or may not have done, she has at least thoroughly impressed distrust and hatred of herself on the heart of the English people. By her conspiracies against the English realm and Church in the sixteenth century and by the cruel fate of the chief Reforming Bishops under Queen Mary, she has destroyed forever any chance of regaining the confidence or allegiance of the English people. As a devout Roman Catholic, Mr. Richard Bagot has lately pointed out in an Italian review.*

In the hearts of the English people, especially in the country districts, the traditions are still alive of the time when the Pope was feared, not

^{*}The article is translated and reproduced in Littell's Living Age.

merely as Head of the Church, but still more because in his capacity as foreign Prince he was always to be found in the ranks of England's

Nor is this robust Protestantism, as Mr. Bagot candidly acknowledges, fed merely by traditions of the past. "England," he confesses, "is almost the only nation whose internal situation is free from those politico-religious difficulties and embarrassments which seem to be the heritage, not only of those states where Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, but also of those where this belief, while not the official creed, has yet assumed sufficient importance to be able to influence political parties." The general position of the French Church and particularly of the clerical press in this miserable Dreyfus business

is certainly not calculated to weaken this impression.

The question, then, naturally arises: How far are the High Church party or their more extreme representatives committed to any policy conflicting with this general point of view? In other words, are any measurable section of the English clergy bent on altering the fundamental character of the Church in a Romeward direction, and so justly responsible for the present Undoubtedly, in a handful of churches, principally in London, unauthorized services have been used which have given a colorable pretext for Mr. Kensit's agitatition, but of any conscious movement on the part of the Ritualistic clergy as a body in a Romeward direction, there is no evidence whatever. At a conference of "advanced" Clergy held in May, 1898, under the presidency of Canon Carter, the right of the Bishop to prohibit unauthorized services or any omissions from or additions to the services of the Prayer Book was by Resolution expressly acknowledged. The clergy of two London churches only refused to participate in this gathering on the ground that "they were not prepared to admit the right of individual Bishops so to interpret the Book of Common Prayer as to exclude matters which have the sanction of the primitive Church and of both East and West."

As it is incontestable that, in matters of ritual, changes were made at the Reformation, e. g., the omission of unction in Confirmation, for which such authority could be claimed, such a sweeping caveat could clearly not be seriously maintained. The fact that only four or five clergy committed themselves to

it speaks for itself.

As a protest against this small but noisy extreme section of their party such well-known High Churchmen as Canon George Body, of Durham (the great Missioner), Messrs. Brightman (of the Pusey House, Oxford), Brinckman, and Bodington on behalf of a meeting of clergy in London, state:

Our chief difficulties at the present time arise out of a return to certain practices which were explicitly or by implication abolished at the Reformation, or out of a resort to certain foreign developments which never had any footing in the English Church.

This new phase they contrast with the past, in which "the chief difficulties with which we have had to contend hitherto have been in securing those Catholic privileges, which, while they obviously and certainly belong to us, have been overlaid and forgotten in past years of apathy and neglect." This development of what is the lawful heritage of the Reformed English Church as distinct from the introduction of matters foreign to her standards, is clearly a purely internal matter with which neither the State nor outsiders are in any way concerned. The position assumed is re-stated by Canon Body in a subsequent address still more explicitly.

They were not called to be self-constituted Reformers of the Book of Common Prayer. They were not at liberty to supply its deficiencies even if there were any really existing; their duty was to give a full expression to the theory of the Book of Common Prayer, to be convinced in their own consciences that what they were doing did not transgress its limits, but was carrying out its precepts and commands.

That this represents the aims of the overwhelming mass of High Churchmen, there is no reasonable doubt. It is impossible to withstand the conclusion that the agitation as a whole is quite indefensible, and rests upon an adventitious basis of misunderstanding and religious prejudice, which has blinded men's eyes temporarily to the real facts of the case. It may be freely conceded that such misunderstanding was, up to a certain point, in many cases not unnatural. The reasons for this will be explained below. The Archbishop of Canterbury's description of the agitation as "a fire of straw" will ere long be seen to be strictly accurate, although by a judicious handling of the fuel, the smoke has been somewhat persistent.

This dictum of the Primate of All England is well illustrated by the steps which the English Episcopate has taken in the matter, and by the gratifying results which have attended their action throughout. The contrast is very noticeable between the temper of the English Bishops, in the present crisis, and that which was displayed in a similar agitation in the seventies. The Bishops of to-day have shown themselves unmoved by popular clamor, and just and firm in their action towards all parties in the Church. To their wisdom and patience is mainly due the growing prospect of a happy termination of the controversy. Even where, as in the recent Lambeth ruling on the illegality of the ceremonial "use of incense in the services," the decision is regretted by many as based on grounds which seem to curtail unduly the liberty of practice in the Church, there is no breath of suspicion as to the absolute bona fides of the decision. In all probability, a practically unanimous obedience will be yielded to the ruling, wherever it is put in action by any Bishop. As it is stated that less than 300 out of the 15,000 Churches of England have used incense at all, it is clear that general obedience on the part of these 300 churches means the acceptance of the authority of the Archbishop's ruling by the most advanced section of the clergy. There may be a few isolated instances of exception, but as the Rector of St. Cuthbert's, Phillimore Gardens (in which Church Mr. Kensit made his debut), has conformed, such instances are improbable and none have yet certainly occurred. Whatever may have been the case in the past, when the attitude of the Bishops was very different, the advanced party have throughout responded (although, as in the last decision, sometimes with reluctance and grudgingly) to the rulings of the Episcopate. These rulings, arrived at in a unanimous session of the Bishops, dealt with the subjects of unauthorized manuals of devotion, the ceremonial use of incense, the carrying of lights in procession (not to be confounded with the stationary lights on the altar), and the reservation of the Holy Sacrament in the churches. A careful revision of all such manuals of devotion by the Bishops was decided upon, so as to eliminate in each case any expressions which may have exceeded the doctrinal limits of the English Church, and it was determined to prohibit the remaining practices as without authority. It was left to each Bishop to put these prohibitions in motion in his own Diocese by whatever method he preferred.

During the greater part of the year 1898 this revision of "guild" and other devotional manuals went on quietly in every Diocese in England. All the clergy sent in their manuals to the Bishop at his request, and, in the cases in which changes were necessary, they were loyally accepted by the clergy concerned. This somewhat delicate and onerous revision has been carried through without any case of friction coming to the surface. These manuals were the practical expression in devotional

ways of all that multiform evangelistic and didactic activity of which the modern English Church is so full. They were in most cases called into existence to meet great necessities of the It is a matter of congratulation that they are Church's work. now freed from all suspicion of contravening the Church's au-An appeal was made from the Episcopal thorized teaching. injunctions as to the three remaining matters on the ground that the practices concerned were not contrary to the law of the Church, and so could not rightly be forbidden. Taking advantage of the direction of the Prayer Book giving an appeal from the ruling of the Bishop to the Archbishop of the Province, under such circumstances, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York announced that they were ready to hear such appeals publicly, and to allow all parties to be represented by legal or theological experts. Further, that to insure uniformity between the decisions in the two Ecclesiastical Provinces, the two Archbishops would sit together in all cases, the one as judge and the other as assessor, according to the Province from which the appeal came. Of course the natural method for settling the law of the Church of England would seem to be by the decisions of her formal Courts, but unfortunately, owing to a combination of circumstances, the judicial system of the Church is in an unsatisfactory state, and it was therefore felt wiser to fall back upon the less formal course of procedure already outlined. The decision on the question of Reservation has not yet been given, but the success which has attended the action so far has amply justified the method employed.

The ground is now clear, apart from the consideration of Ritual and other matters lying on the surface of the controversy, to attempt some account of the chief matters in dispute between the two sections of the Church, as such, i.e. as distinguished from extremer individual positions on either side. Apart from the general difference of standpoint which the names imply, the High Church and Low Church sections are divided at the pres-

ent time mainly in regard to four matters:

The practice of private Confession to a Priest.
 Statements of Eucharistic doctrine.

4. The attitude which the Church should take towards the corporate reunion of Christendom, both East and West.

In regard to all these questions, it is clear that much misunderstanding of the High Church still exists in the opposite

r. The steps necessary for the Reform of the Church's judicial and legislative machinery.

section and in the popular mind generally. One of the gains of this vexatious controversy will (it is to be hoped) be, the growth of a better state of things in this respect. It is greatly to be regretted that representative Low Churchmen like Professor Moule, Sir John Kennaway, and others, refused to meet halfway the earnest invitation of Lord Halifax to a conference, at which the representatives of both parties might strive to understand better each other's position. Nothing but good could have come out of such an informal gathering. The non possumus attitude taken up by the Low Church leaders in this matter is not for the real good of the Church, and certainly will not enhance the influence of the party on the thought and life of

the Church of England.

The reform of the judicial and legislative machinery of the Church as it now exists is demanded by High Churchmen generally, both as a matter of constitutional right under the Reformation settlement and as a question of principle. With regard to the Ecclesiastical Courts the matter stands thus. According to ancient practice, questions of doctrine or ritual were decided in the first instance by the Diocesan Court of the Bishop concerned, with a right of appeal to the Provincial Court of the Archbishop, commonly called the Court of Arches. In the stormy times of the Tudor monarchs, under Elisabeth, a special and extraordinary tribunal, the Court of High Commission was created to exercise on behalf of the Crown visitorial powers over the Courts of normal procedure. The Court of High Commission fell in the Commonwealth period, never to be revived, and its extraordinary jurisdiction fell with it. It was clearly exceptional and historically associated with arbitrary and strained use of the Royal power. Apart from this the only normal court of review for ecclesiastical matters down to the year 1832 was by appeal to the Crown in Chancery on the ground of lack of justice done in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Such appeal was to be heard by a Commission appointed by the Crown. The personnel of this Commission was left perfectly open. In 1832, in connection with a general reform of English judicial machinery, the Court of Delegates was abolished, and its appeal powers given apparently without much consideration to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a body not specially connected with ecclesiastical matters. The careful judgment of Bishop Stubbs, one of the greatest modern historians, who has made the field of Constitutional History a special study, may be regarded as conclusive testimony in regard to the

constitutional position of this important change. He says (Appendix 1. Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1883):

It seems that by no conscious act of the legislature and by no conscious acquiescence on the part of the Church, but rather by a series of overlookings and takings for granted, by the assumptions of successive generations of lawyers, and the laches or want of foresight on the part of the clergy, the present condition of things has been brought about.

The reference is to the position of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes touching doctrine or ritual. He continues:

Under these circumstances the existing jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as a final tribunal of appeal in matters of doctrine and ritual, is not to be regarded as an essential part, or necessary historical consequence, of the Reformation settlement.

The decisions of the Privy Council Committee have, as might have been expected from a body little suited for specially ecclesiastical causes, often been contradictory, and have failed to command the general confidence of the Church. Churchmen generally have protested against it as unconstitutional and mischievous. The Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1883 recommended a return to the old system of redress for lack of justice in particular cases by a court constituted somewhat after the model of the Court of Delegates, which would not have to determine the general law of the Church, but only whether the particular suitor concerned had a just claim to Judgment was to be given without any reasons assigned, so that the law of the Church could not be gradually altered by decisions of the Court of Appeal. The result of this Commission was, therefore, generally to support the contention of High Churchmen, so far as the existing Court is concerned. By a most unfortunate error in judgment in 1871, the position of the Diocesan and Provincial Courts has been practically taken away, and a new Parliamentary Court created to take the place of the ancient Court of the Archbishop. The Commission recommended the full restoration of the ancient ecclesiastical Courts. Already, though the Act of 1871 has not been repealed, the judge of the Provincial Court has lately been appointed in the ancient way by the Archbishops, and to this extent the error of 1871 has been rectified.

The Bishops decided last spring to introduce a measure into Parliament based in its main lines upon the recommenda-

tions of this Ecclesiastical Courts Commission.

Owing to a difference between the two Houses of Convocation as to some of the details of the scheme, delay has occurred, but the matter is one which cannot safely be long postponed. Low Churchmen, as a rule, take little interest in the question of principle involved in these matters; they value the appeal to the secular Court as a protection to the Church, and are quite satisfied with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as now constituted for this purpose. They have, however, the verdict of the Commission of 1883, and of the present Episco-

pate against their position.

In regard to legislative Reform things are in a very similar position, although this matter is, in some ways, less immediately pressing than the other. Parliament, which in the Reformation period was an assembly representing the lay element in the Church, has long lost that character. The change has come about gradually from constitutional reasons unconnected with ecclesiastical matters. Thus, while it was perfectly natural in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to secure the assent of Parliament to the Reformed Prayer Books by embodying them in statutes, and so giving them compulsory force, it is most difficult and unseemly to be compelled in consequence to bring all alterations in this and kindred matters before Parliament as now constituted in the form of an amend-The difficulty of the situation has been aggravated by the arbitrary suspension of the two Convocations of the Clergy in the several Provinces of Canterbury and York, which took place early in the last century and continued until about the middle of the present one. This suspension was as indefensible from a constitutional point of view as if the Crown were to neglect or refuse to summon Parliament at the usual times. It was part of the unfortunate legacy of a period religiously lax and disheartening in every way, not only in England, but in most countries of Europe. The inevitable effect, however, of this long continued silencing of the Church's constitutional legislative assemblies has been to greatly weaken their recognized position (a matter which is being slowly remedied) and to accustom the average Englishman to the idea that Parliament is the natural and sole legislator for the National Church. Obviously the only way to remedy the difficulties which these various changes have brought in their train, and to give that elasticity to the Church's law which the needs of the present time may require, is by moving in the direction of greater autonomy for the Church, so as to restore her practically to the position of freedom in spiritual things she was at the Reformation intended to occupy. The present leader of the Government in the House of Commons, the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour has in a recent utterance indicated this as the true solution of many of the present difficulties. Some such autonomy as the Presbyterian Established Kirk in Scotland has always enjoyed, is being more and more felt to be in the near future a necessity for

the English Church.

Already Houses of Laymen elected in the several Dioceses act as a consultative body together with the Convocations of the Bishops and Clergy. The results of their deliberations would represent all the orders of the Church, and (following precedents already in existence in other matters) it is proposed that the acts of such bodies should come into force with consent of the Crown, after they have been laid before Parliament for a defined period and no hostile action has been taken in regard to them. This would seem to be a very moderate measure of autonomy for the Church to claim, and, sooner or later, it must be granted, if she is to continue to do her work as an Established Church. To a vast number of Churchmen the present of things is only tolerable as a temporary abuse to be set right at the earliest opportunity. As Canon Gore says in regard to this whole matter of judicial and legislative autonomy (under proper safeguards):

The paralysis of proper spiritual authority pushes into prominence all extravagances and conceals the vast amount of authority on essentials and legitimate agreement to differ on minor points, which is or ought to be characteristic of the Church of England.

Low Churchmen are also bringing their own special contribution to the subject of "Church Reform." The Dean of Norwich, Dr. Lefroy, has put forth a scheme, the distinguishing feature of which is the reform of the Parochial vestries. These ancient bodies now consist of all qualified inhabitants without regard to religious belief. Until within the last few years, they have fixed the rate of local taxation and other secular matters. At present they have practically no power in Ecclesiastical matters. The Dean's proposition is to reconstitute them as an assembly of Churchmen only, and to give them some veto power on changes in the services, etc., of the Parish Church. The two plans are in no way necessarily antagonistic.

It is interesting to notice the attitude toward these proposals of Mr. Carvell Williams, the well-known representative of

political Nonconformity in its endeavor to bring about the Disestablishment of the Church according to the program of the Liberation Society. Mr. Williams casts scorn on the Dean's scheme as "illogical and irrelevant while made in connection with a Church by law established." He may be left to defend this ludicrous travesty of the position of an Established Church against the Presbyterian Duke of Argyll, who writes:

There is no sort of foundation for the supposition that when a Church becomes established, it must of necessity become a subordinate department of the State. This would be an unjust description even of that large degree of vassalage under which a very peculiar kistory has placed the Anglican Establishment.

The italics are mine. The Duke is clearly thinking of things as they have come to be, not of the constitutional position of the Church under the Reformation settlement. When it is remembered that the marriage statistics for 1894, the latest to which I have access, show that nearly seventy per cent of the marriages in England and Wales are celebrated in the National Church and less than twelve per cent according to Nonconformist rites, it will be clear how little moral right Nonconformists have to obstruct such reasonable Reforms in the Church. quote the marriage statistics, because, owing to the persistent opposition of Nonconformists for decades to a religious census, no other statistics of an official kind are available. perience in the case of a purely disciplinary measure like the Benefices Bill passed last year, shows what bitter opposition, relying upon Scotch and Irish aid, Nonconformist representatives in Parliament are prepared to give to the most unexceptionable legislation required in the interests of the Church. This of course only makes the necessity of greater autonomy for the Church more urgent.

The subjects of Confession and Eucharistic doctrine are hardly suitable for discussion in an article of this sort. It may, however, be said that if Low Churchmen generally would show a greater readiness to recognize such distinctions as the Church of England undoubtedly makes between voluntary and compulsory Confession, allowing, and in certain cases recommending, the former, and distinctly rejecting the latter as a discipline introduced into the Western Church only in the thirteenth century, and, after a trial of some three centuries in England, definitely abolished, or between the "reality" of the Spiritual gifts in the Holy Eucharist and a carnal and material

conception of them; their appeals would have far more weight and their influence in curtailing any extravagances in the other more extreme section would be much greater. The historic position of the Church and the convictions of the great mass of Churchmen on such matters were well voiced by the English Archbishops in their answer to the Papal pronouncement against Anglican Orders. Meanwhile it must not be forgotten, as the Bishop of Rochester puts it, that

From Elisabeth's time to now men who seemed very near to the Roman and Puritan positions, respectively, have been held within the unity of the Church's corporate life. But it has been upon two conditions: loyal conformity, and a condition of not imposing what was peculiar to their own convictions as an exclusive test or standard for the rest of the Church.

As to Corporate Reunion, the matter is everywhere in the air. It is no peculiar hobby of the Church of England, or of any section of it, although perhaps no Communion in Christendom has hitherto shown as much earnest desire in an official way to promote it. It was quite natural that Churchmen in England should cordially welcome such approaches to a better understanding between the Roman and Anglican Communions as were expressed by the little body of learned French Priests who started the movement represented by the "Revue Anglo-Romaine." It is certain at least in the light of what has happened since, if it was not sufficiently clear before, that Lord Halifax was far too optimistic in his view of what was possible in the way of nearer relations between the Churches of England and Rome. The Papal Bull, denying the validity of Anglican Orders has shown that his expectations in that direction were absolutely quixotic and hopeless. To most people, the fact that Lord Halifax had allowed his desires of Reunion upon general grounds to blind him to obvious facts was all along apparent. That such mistakes in judgment were made in perfect loyalty to the English Church, and out of passionate enthusiasm for a great, if wholly, at present, impracticable ideal, there can be no doubt. Lord Halifax is not the first person to "dream dreams" in regard to Reunion, and it may well be that in some unknown way every such aspiration brings nearer the final goal, though to all human eyes, it remains utterly fruitless.

At any rate, it is certain that the unguarded aspirations of Lord Halifax have left a wrong impression on many who had no special sympathy with his aims, and that his attitude in this matter has had no slight share in intensifying the uneasiness in certain quarters which has manifested itself in this "crisis."

As the whole matter is now completely out of the range of practical politics; so far as Reunion with Rome is concerned, the question no longer presents any features of permanent interest. There are happily many signs that this so-called "crisis" is nearing its end. All those who know and appreciate the unparalleled spiritual work which the Church of England has been enabled to do, particularly in the last quarter of a century, and admire her steadfast adherence to the ideal of the rightful harmony of "faith" with "reason," will desire that she may be enabled successfully to cope with the difficulties which lie in her path, and that the ultimate result may bring with it greatly increased power to do her Master's work. Throughout these trying months of controversy the spiritual activity of the Church has gone on in all its departments with no perceptible check. Last year the voluntary offerings for the different departments of the Church's work amounted to over \$35,000,000, more than double her income from the ancient endowments. Such a Church is indeed a noble mother of the whole Anglican Communion, and the difficulties of her position only endear her the more closely to the hearts of her loyal children.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JAMES MADISON

By GAILLARD HUNT

Editor of The Writings of James Madison

IN HIS stately biography of James Madison, Mr. William C. Rives has attributed the singularly simple and pure style of Madison's writings to the fact that in his youth he was a reader of Addison, but an easier explanation is that the style was merely the natural expression of a man whose nature was, like Addison's, modest, gentle, direct, and unaffected. times of storm, but he was himself serene and calm. He fought great intellectual battles, but he gave way to no outbursts of passion, and in gaining victory he did not ride roughshod over his enemies or leave behind him the sting of sarcasm. He was modest to the point of diffidence, avoiding the ostentation of figures of ornamentation, coining no catching epigrams, and striving for no passing honors of audible applause. He never thrust himself forward, never posed for admiration, never claimed honors. None of his writings can be classed with the dreary literature of political vindications and argued public achievements. The pure, direct, and appropriate language in which he clothed his thoughts was freer from faults than that of any other man of his time, and remains as a model for emulation.

Washington Irving, who came to Washington seeking an office when Madison assumed the Presidency, saw him at the inauguration ball and jocosely described him as a "withered little apple John," less conspicuous on that occasion than his handsomely-arrayed wife and her sisters, "three merry wives of Windsor"; and however much of caricature there may be in this description, it is true, nevertheless, that Madison's personality was neither striking nor imposing. He was a puny, sickly child, a delicate, awkward youth, and a frail young man. As the years passed, his body filled out, but never attained proportions denoting robustness or strength. As he was a little man, short as well as slender, he walked with a springing step to

mitigate the defect of his stature. Grigsby has given us a vivid description of him when he attended the Virginia convention of 1788 in the full flower of his manhood. Among such large men as Patrick Henry, Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, Edmund Randolph and Harry Inness, he appeared by contrast to be smaller than he really was, and when he rose to speak he could with difficulty be seen from all parts of the hall. When he began speaking his voice could not be heard except by those immediately around him, but it increased in volume as he proceeded, although it was never powerful. The other shining lights of that convention possessed voices of great power, which added materially to their influence in debate. Madison's speeches showed a thoroughness of learning and a carefulness of logic which betrayed at once their elaborate preparation, but he always rose to speak as if a passing thought had prompted him to an extemporaneous effort. He kept his hat in his hand, and in the hat were his notes written in microscopic penmanship upon small slips of paper. They were a complete skeleton of the speech, divided into logical heads and subheads, so that a reader may even now, with these notes before him, easily construct the complete body of the speech. He gesticulated seldom, but as he warmed with his argument his body swayed backward and forward with a see-saw motion. His power as a speaker depended upon the force of his reasoning, and here he was easily the greatest man in this assemblage of great men. Posterity has confirmed John Marshall's opinion that he was the most eloquent man of his time, if convincing is eloquence. When he appeared again in a Virginia convention, in 1829, he was a man of extreme old age, his joints stiffened with rheumatism, and his voice so weak that when he spoke John Randolph, to catch his sentences, advanced eagerly toward him with his hand behind his ear, but soon gave up as hopeless the effort to hear him. Madison's diffidence had been such, when he first entered public life in the Virginia assembly of 1776, that he made no speeches. Afterwards in the Continental Congress he overcame his bashfulness, and from this time on was a constant speechmaker.

The simple effectiveness of Madison's written style was reflected in his personal apparel, to which in his youth he gave great attention. We find him, when a stripling at Princeton, writing to his father in 1770, begging that his mother should not ruffle his shirts until he might be present himself. But he dressed more simply than was usual with Southern gentlemen,

and held in great contempt "those impertinent fops that abound in every city." In the convention of 1788 he wore a handsome suit of buff and blue with a straight collar doubled, such as the Methodists affected, and ruffles at his breast and wrists. His hair was powdered and queued. Twenty years later he took the oath as President of the United States, wearing a suit of brown broadcloth presented to him by his friend Robert R. Livingston, at whose mills on the Hudson River the cloth had been made as an example of budding American manufactures. In his old age he always wore black, and towards the end of his life he became careless of his apparel and its neatness.

Of Madison's countenance several interpretations have come down to us. He early grew bald and his hair came to a point His nose was straight and of medium size, upon his forehead. the eyes were blue and the complexion light, the mouth was straight. This portrait is colorless and does not show strongly marked characteristics, but the drawing of him as an old man, after his retirement from public life, when he sat in dressing gown and cap at Montpelier, shows us a face with benignant lines and dignity of expression. Fortunately, there is extant a white marble medallion bust of Madison of great beauty of execution made by the Italian sculptor Cerrachi, in 1792, when Madison had just passed into middle age. It portrays a far more human face than the Madison portraits of the same period, -the high forehead, sloping back, partly covered by the thin, waving hair, the head coming to a peak at the back with a deep curve in to the full, sinewy neck, the eyes set deep, thick higharched brows, nose almost straight and not large, thin and delicate until the end which is rather stout, straight, thin upper lip, lower lip full and flexible, and a small, rounded chin running into the throat and well-defined Adam's apple. In the makeup of this face there are few signs of a sense of humor, but this essential quality was not wanting in Madison. His life was a serious one, but those who enjoyed his intimacy found him with a quiet jocoseness, and he could even on occasion laugh with his whole man. A friend once saw him laugh till the tears rolled down his cheeks at a caricature which represented his worthy friend, George Nicholas, as a "plum pudding with legs to it," and in his letters there is an occasional gleam of humor. Of wit with its barbed arrows, sarcasm, irony and ridicule he had little.

Physical sports he did not participate in, as he was too delicate to do so, and he did not join his neighbors in their keen interest in horse-racing, wrestling, and kindred contests. Soon after he left college he regularly adopted a public career as men do a profession, and his studies were unremitting and absorbing, and were the controlling interest in his life. They did not, however, produce austerity in his habits or judgments. He lived as others lived, liked his madeira, paid the ordinary tavern score of a gentleman when he traveled, and knew where the best apple brandy was to be found in Orange, ordering a cask of it from his neighbor, Colonel Taylor, for Major Wadsworth in the Continental Congress, and giving minute directions on the subject of its shipment. Yet he studied the subject of enforced total abstinence and discussed it philosophically, coming to substantially the same conclusions as to its impracticability that intelligent men of the present day have reached.

One of the reasons why he was sent to college at Princeton instead of at Williamsburg was in order that his constitution might have the benefit of the invigoration of a northern climate. After he left college he did not himself look forward to a long or healthy life. He grew more sturdy as the years went by, but he was frequently ailing and suffered from digestive troubles. Old age brought with it a disabling rheumatism from which he never recovered. He guarded his health carefully, and the young man who was too weak to enter the Revolutionary army outlived nearly all of his sturdier companions, and died in the full possession of his faculties in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

An effect of his rheumatism, as he said, was to make his handwriting grow smaller, but it had always had a tendency to become microscopic. Unlike Washington's bold hand, or Jefferson's peculiarly clear characters, which once seen can never be mistaken for those of any other man, Madison's penmanship was not notably legible or neat. But he rarely misspelled, as Washington and Jefferson constantly did, and he usually took the trouble to punctuate, which they did not. He kept his papers in an orderly manner, and edited and arranged a portion of them, which he intended should be a legacy to his wife, and were, indeed, her chief one, for he left behind him when he died

a considerable indebtedness.

There was, probably, never a time in his life when he was not in debt to a greater or less extent. Living always in the simple plenty of plantation life, he was, nevertheless, always cramped for ready money. His compensation as a public official was never, except perhaps when he was President, sufficient to meet his needs, and his only other sources of income were derived from his plantations. During his service in the Continental Congress, and for some time afterwards, he was supported almost wholly by his father, the provision made by Virginia for her delegates being inadequate, and remittances coming at irregular intervals. He was obliged at this time to raise money by resorting to a Jewish broker. His expenditures were not, however, prompted by extravagance, except perhaps in the matter of books, which he bought freely when he could find them. After the revolution he acquired lands of his own, and his private letters tell a story of a speculation in lands in the Mohawk region in 1786 at which one cannot but smile, for the three men engaged in this enterprise to become rich quickly were Madison, Jefferson and Monroe. Monroe's finances were always in a distressing condition, and Jefferson, Madison said, died a hundred thousand dollars in debt. Madison himself wrote to Nicholas Biddle in 1825, asking for the loan of \$6,000 from the Bank of the United States, and this was only one of his pecuniary obligations. It must be said of the indebtedness of Madison and men of his class that it was the indebtedness of agriculturalists, to whom borrowing was not difficult, because their assets in lands and slaves were always considerable. It was a condition, too, which did not apparently weigh upon him, because he was accustomed to it. Pinching management he knew not how to exercise, vulgar extravagance or display were foreign to his nature, but the plain abundance of a large household and a free-handed hospitality which welcomed to his roof all who visited him were necessaries of his life. Yet Madison's father was far from being a poor man. When he died he left 4,399 acres of land in actual use and 12,900 acres in grants of wild lands. To his son James he left Montpelier with the surrounding 1,800 acres, and Madison died possessed of this tract and two smaller farms, beside a grist mill in Orange, and several lots and houses in the city of Washington. He conceived, however, that he was leaving a considerable source of wealth in his manuscript reports of the debates of the constitutional convention which he left to his wife, providing that from the proceeds of the sale of the work after its publication various legacies should be paid, amounting in all to \$10,500. These were the papers the private publication of which Mrs. Madison afterwards found would probably prove unprofitable and which Congress accordingly purchased from her for \$30,000.

If a man's character is affected by his natural surroundings, Madison had benefits which fall to the lot of few. In a land of beautiful country estates none was more beautiful than Montpelier, and through the care of its present owner, Mr. Detrick of Baltimore, it remains at this day one of the noblest country places in America. The house, originally built by his father, Madison enlarged and rebuilt in 1795 and afterwards further improved. It follows the distinctive Virginia style of architecture, with the large front porch and high brick pillars. On the first floor Madison had his library and bedroom, the latter a small room back of what was then the dining-room, and when his infirmities so grew upon him that he could not sit at the dinner table, his chair used to be pushed to the door of the little bedroom, so that he could mingle partially, at least, in the life of the gathered household. Back of the house stretches a level lawn, bordered by lofty forest trees. Two of them, especially, twins of the forest, stand out conspicuous in their strange identity of size and symmetry. They were tall trees in Madison's time, and continued to grow in size and beauty, until in 1895 they were badly damaged by a terrific storm. To the right of the lawn, as one faces it, lies the large garden which Madison laid out, ranged in horseshoe terraces, and on the left is an avenue of pines leading to a small summer-house placed above the ice house, which, when Madison had it built, excited wonder as the first one ever seen in that part of Virginia. From the front porch is a view of surpassing grandeur. A stretch of level lawn extends for several hundred yards, losing itself in a dense wood, and about ten miles beyond the mighty range of the Blue Ridge mountains towers across the whole horizon, It was here that Madison's father and grandfather lived; here he was brought immediately after his birth; he was never voluntarily long absent; and here in the little room by the dining-room he died. He was a part of the place, and one who visits it now and sees all its stateliness and natural splendor associates it with the kindly. gentle scholar and statesman who knew no other home.

Of the benefit of traveling Madison had but little. He went with Lafayette shortly after the Revolution on a tour through the Eastern States, and from his frequent journeys to and from Philadelphia and New York, and his earlier education at Princeton he was familiar with the Middle States. He had an intimate personal knowledge of all Virginia. At the close of the Revolution his kinsman, Bishop James Madison, President of William and Mary, wrote to him expressing the hope

that he would embrace the opportunity offered him of enlarging his knowledge of the world and of mankind by accepting a diplomatic post in Europe, but his circumstances prevented his doing so, and for the same reason he was unable later to avail himself of Jefferson's pressing invitation to visit him in Paris. His knowledge of the outside world came from books, and so far as the governments of the Old World were concerned he was better informed than any other statesman in America of his time. He read French, apparently with facility, and also Italian, in which language his friend Mazzei usually wrote to him, and the records of the State Department show that he was familiar with Spanish. He was by preference a man of the closet and of books, but his range of interests was wide. His favorite subject of reading was comparative government, but he was a political economist of no mean ability, and discussed lucidly the causes of poverty in Europe. He read law, at first with the idea of practicing it as a profession, but afterwards simply as a necessary part of the education of a public man. He studied chemistry and controverted Buffon's theory of central heat. He was fond of natural history, and compared the animal life around him with that recorded by European natural-Philosophy, in the sense of psychology, was not one of his studies, and whatever his reading upon religion may have been it made him simply a Christian, confirmed in his belief by what he termed the "specious arguments of Infidels." His first notable public service was his amendment to the Virginia Bill of Rights, which called for complete religious freedom, and resulted in eliminating from that document an expression in favor of religious tolerance. The nearest approach to violent abuse shown in his earlier letters is his denunciation of clerical assumptions in Virginia. His most adroit service in State affairs was that by which he so manipulated public opinion and pitted the Dissenters against the Episcopalians as to produce complete Church Disestablishment in Virginia. His writings are singularly free from any expressions of sectarian belief or common appeals to religious belief. Dissenters wrote to him as to a friend, and he was even suspected of being himself a Methodist, which he was not. He was an Episcopalian, as his neighbors were, but his religious zeal did not extend beyond a noncontroversial attitude.

His friendships were chiefly among men of his own State, and he was always faithful to them, but ardent friendship he neither manifested nor inspired. He loved Thomas Jefferson,

and was to a certain extent his follower, but he came under the influence of that master mind less completely than is generally supposed. Jefferson befriended him in many ways and passed on to him the Presidency, but Madison did not suffer his judgment or opinions to be dominated by Jefferson, for he was a man of safer practical thought than Jefferson and of better digested learning. Jefferson was a leader of men, and he molded into definite shape a political party which expressed the ideals of many men, and Madison was neither a leader, nor a founder, nor an idealist. He did not follow the master to the dangerous heights to which his speculative theories often carried him, but frequently brought him down to a steadier, safer level. If Madison owed much to Jefferson, so did Jefferson owe much to him.

There is no instance in our history at all paralleling the friendship which existed between Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. They were the three musketeers of politics and worked together, each for the other. Madison and Monroe were friends for half a century, with one short interruption of displeasure, but Monroe was never the peer of the other two, and the tone in which they wrote of him shows that they did not regard him as their peer. Nevertheless, Madison maintained a sincere affection for Monroe, and his family and Monroe's were on terms of intimacy. At college Madison formed intimate friendships with William Bradford, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who wrote poetry and political pamphlets and ended his career as Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and the versatile Philip Freneau, who was a more brilliant man than Madison, but whose life, devoted to literature, was a failure, although Madison did his best to help him to make it a success. He succumbed to the charms of Lafayette and wrote to him with warmer expressions of affection than he employed toward others.

Soon after Madison left Princeton, Bradford submitted to him some of Brackenridge's poetry and asked his advice as to the advisability of publishing it, and Madison advised against it, but his taste for poetry and sentimental literature did not extend beyond his youth. He wrote to Bradford:

Poetry, wit, and criticism, romances, plays, etc., captivated me much; but I began to discover that they deserve but a small portion of a mortal's time, and that something more substantial, more durable, and more profitable, befits a riper age.

There was nothing of the heroic or sentimental in his makeup, and his imagination took no flights. It would be hardly exaggeration to describe him as prosaic. His passions and emotions were not mastering. When he was in the Continental Congress he suffered a disappointment in love, and was rejected by Miss Floyd, daughter of General James Floyd of New York, but whatever anguish of spirit he may have suffered in consequence, he suppressed all manifestation of it, and it did not interfere with the tenor of his life, or, apparently, prey upon his spirits. The satisfaction to his affections which came to him in maturity by his marriage with Dolly Payne was complete and unmarred by any earlier clinging disappointments. He had from that time on the surroundings of a social life which left nothing to be desired, but he had from the time of his entering public life enjoyed an association with what, for want of a better term, may be called the best society. This he had attained because of his personal qualities and his ability, which brought him into intimate association with the leaders of Virginia social life, but of that circle he had not been a part by birth. The position of his family had always been respectable, but not of the highest aristocratic caste, a fact to which he has himself alluded in his letters, but from which he did not suffer after he had attained manhood. Grigsby tells us that because of his associations his manners improved after manhood, but if they were in youth uncouth and countrified, they never could have been rough, and after he became a public character were always simple, dignified, and modest,—the quiet manners of a scholar accustomed to mingling among men of the highest rank in his community. The crowning honor of the highest office in the country neither dazzled him nor changed him. went to it step by step upward, and never lost his poise. Presidency was to him, as it has been to so many others, rather a period of great anxiety and trouble than of triumph. It demanded, for successful grappling with the crisis of war, extraordinary powers of a kind which he did not possess, but he met its reverses, as he did its honors, with dignity and equanimity. When he retired to Montpelier, having rounded out a career of public usefulness extending over a period of forty years, from early manhood to old age, he was one of the most notable characters in America. Rising statesmen came to him for guidance and advice, distinguished foreigners counted their tour of the Republic incomplete without the honor of an introduction to his house, he was regarded with universal veneration, and he took these last, which were the most unmixed honors his life had known, with perfect unaffected grace.

In a career such as Madison's there were few of the elements of chance. No lightning stroke singled him out for sudden illumination; he shone into prominence gradually and all the more permanently on that account, for behind the modest exterior there burned a fire of steady purpose and ambition. To attain his ends he scorned to use the arts of the politician as we understand them now, and lost an election to Congress because of his refusal to indulge in treating, but he made an obvious concession to what was, he thought, political expediency when he appointed Robert Smith, an inferior man for whom he had slight regard, to be his first Secretary of State. His advancement was, however, untainted by the bribery of patronage. His predecessor in the Presidency had filled nearly all the offices with adherents of his own party, and Madison was, in consequence, comparatively free from the importunities of office-seekers, but he always repelled them. Upon his retirement to private life he had a form of letter printed declining to recommend any applicant for office, and he sent it to all who asked him for his endorsement. When he was in active political life his letters recommending men for appointment were few and were never based upon political grounds. Madison had what Thackeray has termed the greatest of a great man's qualities, success, for he attained the highest civil honors his country could bestow, and secured the respect and confidence of the people, if he did not inspire their enthusiasm or extravagant laudation. Posterity has placed him among the great men of a great period of history, counting it as his highest title to enduring fame that he wrote the contemporaneous account of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and was identified, more perhaps than any other one man, with the successful framing of that instrument and its adoption by the people of the States.

THE AFRICAN PYGMIES

By SAMUEL PHILLIPS VERNER

HERE is a typical man of the Pygmy tribe, near whose town, at a distance of about three hundred yards, I lived for two years. In appearance small, of an average stature of less than four feet; head small, but well shaped and rounded; eyes bright, small, deeply set in the head; color, chocolate; trimly built, with very symmetrical proportions; muscles of the legs very well developed, of the arms not so well. The feet and hands were relatively small and beautifully proportioned. The hair is kinky, but I never saw any beard, more than a few straggling grey hairs on the chins of very old men.

These pygmies were called by all the natives *Batwa*, sometimes *Batu*; there being, in my judgment, some connection between the term and that by which the larger tribes are designated, *Bantu*. A pygmy is a *Mutu*; a normal man, *Muntu*; the pygmies are *Batu*; the others *Bantu*. These pygmies have a language generically different from that of the surrounding tribes; one very difficult to learn and rarely spoken by any but themselves. I judge that it is an agglutinative lan-

guage, with many onomatopoetic words.

They lived in a little village in the mountainous country of the Wissmann Falls district in South Central Africa, fifteen hundred miles in the interior. There were about two hundred of them in this immediate village. This village was on the slope of a hill, facing the West, where the grassy plain adjoined a forest growing upon the valley of a little stream. It was not laid off with any regularity as the villages of the dominant tribes generally are. The houses were dotted about here and there, there being about forty of them, on the average fifteen feet apart. These houses are ingeniously constructed, but upon a much less elaborate plan and with fewer pains than those of the larger Bakuba. A number of lithe sticks perhaps an inch in diameter and ten feet long are cut and brought; the ends are inserted in the ground about four feet apart, the sticks being

thus bent over and forming, all together, a framework in the shape of a bee-hive; upon this frame leaves are tied and matted securely; a doorway of perhaps two feet square, or somewhat less, being left in one side; and in this dwelling, not as pretentious as some chicken-coops here, a family of five will often live.

The house-furniture of the Batwa is simple, and what was found in use by those I lived among was obtained from the Bakuba—the race governing them. There were earthen pots made from clay; a bed of sticks and bamboo woven together; a rack of bamboo for holding their few belongings; knives, large and small; bows and a plentiful supply of arrows made from the mid-rib of a palm-frond, and fearfully poisoned on the tip; quivers from skins; a few charms, consisting mainly of bones, feathers, or skins; some baskets, nets for hunting, spears, and fish-traps made from bamboo splits.

Outside the houses, in the yards and premises, are grown a few plants, the cultivation of which the pygmies learned from the Bakuba: Plantains, pepper, egg-plant, tomatoes, gourds, hemp—that which the native Africans smoke, tobacco, maize, and perhaps some peas and beans. The village is untidy, not well-swept, and except when off on a hunt, the men are very idle, and lie about smoking and fondling their children. Large families are the exception among the pygmies, and the boys are early taught to hunt, the girls to find edible roots in the

adjacent forests.

These little people became quite friendly, coming over to my place adjoining quite frequently, and conversing over a fire and some tobacco quite freely. The immediate history of this town is interesting. The pygmies occupied the position of serfs to Dombi, the ruling chief of the Bakuba, the large tribe of the Bantu race which occupied and controlled the country around, covering a district as large as New York State. Their traditions were to the effect that once their people spread all over the land, and there were none others beside themselves in the country. Then the big people (Bantu) came and made war upon them. Some were slain; others retired to the deep recesses of the distant forests; while others were retained near the great chiefs to serve and hunt for them. For previously to the invasion of these intruders, the Batwa had lived solely by the chase and by seeking such indigenous food as wild nature afforded. There are quite a number of edible roots, berries,

herbs, and fruits which are found in Africa in a wild state, and which rendered this precarious manner of life possible. For example: A large yam is found, growing as deep as four feet under the surface of the earth, of the appearance of a large potato, but actually attaining sometimes the size of a peckmeasure; of a mealy consistency, and forming an agreeable dish when boiled, as I can freely testify, having often eaten of it. This yam is discovered by reason of its sending up to the surface a thorny vine, which the natives quickly espy. Another edible root is somewhat like our Irish potato, but very bitter until thoroughly boiled, mashed, and washed through several courses of water. Then there are mushrooms, which the natives relish keenly, and a large fruit of the rubber vine of a most acid taste, but largely eaten; besides some smaller

fruits, on the order of plums.

On such diet as the above, together with meat from the chase, these pygmies lived before the Bantu came, never tilling the soil, and their cooking being by roasting over an open fire. The men hunted the meat, the women sought for the roots and fruits. The men were and still are famous hunters. A pinprick from their terrible poisoned arrows is worse than a rattlesnake's bite. They obtain this poison by bruising the roots of a species of the Euphorbia. They know every beast which roams, and kill anything from an elephant to a rat. have seen them come in with a python twenty-five feet long and as thick as a man's thigh; he was soon divided amongst them, and eaten. The children seek and eat such things as rats, locusts, grasshoppers, crickets, the large white worms which infest the pith of dead palms, caterpillars, and white ants. I have, at different times, seen them eating each of the above insects. Their knowledge of the habits of wild animals is wonderful, and their sense of sight and smell phenomenal. Because of their prowess in the chase, these Batwa are highly prized by Dombi and well treated. They are directly governed by a chief appointed by Dombi, one of the Bakuba, who sees that Dombi's meat tribute is promptly paid, settles disputes and otherwise acts as a kind of vice-gerent for Dombi over them.

Their customs are of course very primitive. They are generally monogamous, in marked contrast to the Bakuba practice, where Dombi has thirty-two wives, and Lukengu, the chief of another section, over seven hundred. Toward their wives the men are also gentler and more affectionate than is ordinarily

supposed. Marriages are contracted at about fourteen years of age, and it is a most extraordinary sight to see a woman no larger than a ten-year-old child with several children clinging about her. The marriage relation is very jealously guarded, and infidelity among these pygmies is curiously rare. Their funerals are observed as very solemn but festive occasions, no one going out to hunt as long as the mourning lasts, the women assembling under the rough grass sheds to weep and wail in true Oriental fashion, and the men, strangely enough, forming into great dancing parties.

They wear little clothes, rarely more than enough to cover the loins, and frequently not larger than a pocket-handkerchief. This cloth, like their pots and farinaceous food, is now gotten from the Bakuba in exchange for meat. Formerly they had no cloth at all, but wore skins or grass. Children go nude. But the sense of modesty is well developed, and I have seen it clearly shown, alike by men and women, on many occasions. They always say they would wear plenty of sloth if

they had it.

They are not so much given to personal ornamentation as the larger tribes. One rarely sees anything more than a charm or amulet tied by a string about their necks. This is in marked contrast to the larger African tribes, who are extremely given to decorating themselves.

They have no doctors such as the Bantu have, described in my writings elsewhere. This is a remarkable omission, but I have no means of knowing whether in their original state they

had any medical ideas or not.

Their mental characteristics are quite clearly marked. All the powers of external perception—sight, smell, hearing, for example—are very acute. Their reasoning powers are confined chiefly to thought upon the subjects of their daily life; but here their deductive power is marvelously correct. They are by nature rather affectionate, quiet, shy; not much given to the incessant quarreling which is so marked a characteristic of the average African town. They always treated me with marked kindness, frequently bringing me presents of meat, and their "queen"—the wife of their chief—was one of the best friends I had in Africa. They are quite superstitious. Once an expedition of soldiers came to their town and camped; and when they left, the little people immediately moved off a few hundred yards and built a new town, saying that the presence of the soldiers had defiled their old town.

They are not so uproarious in their amusements as the Bantu. I suspect that aboriginally they had very few amusements, as their time must have been engrossed in the struggle to obtain the means of subsistence. Their present amusements appear to be borrowed from the Bakuba. There are no musical instruments, no blacksmith shops, no iron or copper foundries, no looms for cloth-weaving, all of which is found among the Bakuba.

It may surprise the average reader to hear that these pygmy races are reported to be very widely distributed, not only in Africa, but in all parts of the Oriental World, including Asia

and the islands of the Pacific.

The African pygmy was believed to be a reality as long ago as the days of Homer, who says of the storks, in the Iliad—"They bear carnage and death to the men called pygmies," a truly poetic conception; but the less poetic and more scientific Aristotle says of the sources of the Nile—"This is the district which the pygmies inhabit, whose existence is not a fable. There is really, as men say, a species of men of little stature, and their horses are little also. They pass their life in caverns."

The unreliable Pliny also mentions the pygmies, but in his usual loose way; his statements being valuable only in so far as to confirm the fact of ancient tradition concerning these people. Ctesias also spoke of pygmies in Asia. Moreover, Pomponius

Mela and Herodotus mention these dwarf people.

It remained for travelers of the nineteenth century to verify these traditions beyond the point of further doubt. Thus Du Chaillu mentions a tribe of dwarfs called the Obongos, who, he says, are a very shy people, hunters, not tilling the soil, of an average height of about four feet three inches; coffee-colored; they bury their dead in hollow trees, or under running streams; and are kept within the confines of a larger tribe, to whom they are attached. These he found in the country back of the Gaboon in West Central Africa. Stanley reported them in the great forests of the Aruwimi, where various Belgian officers have also seen them, and young Mr. Loyd encountered them. The traveler Schweinfurth found them in North Central Africa in the country about the Nile-Congo Divide having the same general characteristics as the Batwa. Doctor Wolf mentions a tribe of them in the Saukuru region, south of the Congo. Those I lived with are on the Upper Kassai river, about longitude 22° east, latitude 5° south.

I have personally verified their occurrence in scattered groups from Tanganyika to the Chrystal mountains, and from the Zambesi Divide to the Congo. Everywhere found, their tradition points to a previously wider distribution and more extensive occupation, followed by subsequent invasion by a stronger tribe, with conquest and decimation. The occurrence of these same people in the Pacific islands, in India, and other parts of Eastern Continental Asia is an ethnological fact of extreme interest, and gives rise to numerous questions and speculations. For example, it appears that people extremely similar to these Batwa of Central Africa are found in the Philippine Islands.

The question of the origin of these African pygmies is naturally divisible into the two questions, as to their local beginning in Africa, and as to their remoter absolute origin.

These two questions, moreover, involve each other.

There are five hypotheses which may be worth mentioning as to the way these pygmies have arisen in Africa, from the

point of view of their intra-African origin.

The first is that they are descended from pygmies immediately and directly created of God, independently of any other creation. This may be discarded as no longer held by scientific men of any repute, and as a corollary of a long since

exploded hypothesis.

The second possible explanation is that they have been derived from some lower order of animal—the ape for example—in Africa, where the ape-life is so highly developed. This would also involve local derivation of the human species whereever occurring, or the origin of the whole race in Africa from this pygmy stock, either of which position is untenable from a variety of considerations too numerous to take up here.

The third hypothesis asserts that these pygmies are a race of degenerates, sprung from an originally normal stock, the present Bantu race, for example, or their ancestors. I believe this to be partially, but not wholly, true, as I shall show further on.

The fourth idea advanced on this subject is that the dwarfs are merely degenerates from the present larger races, the separation having occurred during the period of the present ascendancy of the prevalent tribes. This is also, in my judgment, untenable.

The fifth idea is that the larger tribes have been developed from original pygmy ancestors. I cannot regard this as well established, or based upon any testimony worth considering.

It remains to consider the matter of the extra-African origin of the pygmies. Only two hypotheses are deserving of mention. The first is the old one—that scientific deus exmachina—of their origin upon a submerged South Pacific continent. At best this only throws the question a step further, as far as Africa is concerned—did the pygmies come first direct to Africa, or did they come via some other continent.

This opens up the second extra-African hypothesis, that of the Asiatic origin of these pygmies, which the probabilities point to as the most likely. It seems to me that the conclusions which are most probably correct may be summed up thus:

The ancestors of the pygmies and of the larger tribes alike came from some place of common origin in Asia; migratory settlements in the direction of Africa, as well as in other directions, set up; after one migratory settlement had risen to the zenith of its development, there was a further migration on the one hand, and a succeeding degeneration on the part of the remaining settlement, on the other. This migration, with successive settlements, development, and decay, continued, as far as Africa is concerned, to the uttermost of her land-limit at the Cape of Good Hope. The pygmies are degenerates from the previous settlements, which, after their period of highest development had been reached, began to decay, and in time were conquered by other settlements which had then risen to a high degree of relative strength.

The evidence leading to these conclusions is too voluminous to be enumerated here, but the leading points may be briefly

indicated.

The origin in Asia is indicated in several ways: It is only in Asia where all the types of the human race are found to-day, and are known to have existed in historic time. The pygmies are still there, among all the other classes of human beings. Again, land migrations from Asia to all the other continents is more feasible than vice versa. Tradition, moreover, whatever its testimony may be worth, has always pointed thither. Again, it is only in certain parts of Asia that there is found, within a very small era, a very great variation in climatological conditions, making possible the variations in species there found.

The idea of migratory settlements is sustained, in the first place, by the well known law of necessity, arising from limited land and unlimited increase of population. Wherever the race originated, the district in time became so populous as to necessitate "swarming"; and the "swarm" next "hived" collectively, making a second settlement, more or less unitary in character, and generally well defined by geographic boundaries. Moreover, in the beginning of this migratory movement, it was most natural that the differentiated types should cling together and migrate together.

I make here a digression to give what may be an interesting as well as amusing illustration of the manner in which a primitive race might look at this question. When my two Batetela boys, from near Tanganyika, began to look round them in Alabama, one observation they made, among others,

may be noteworthy:

"Master, why do you all not separate the people, and put the black people here by themselves, and the red (yellow) by themselves, and the white people by themselves?"

Another argument for the migratory hypothesis is that of the well-attested fact of such movements recorded in history

and now established beyond any questioning.

Still another indication arises from internal evidence in Africa. We find a line of ancient kingdoms stretching from Egypt to the Cape, right along one of the natural lines of such a migratory movement. These kingdoms may be represented respectively by those more or less familiar, now under the names of Kabba Rega, Mwanga, Kassongo, Msidi, Lobengula, and Khama. Now let it be noted that these countries, in their geographic situation, exhaust the possibilities of any other settlements in the line they occupy; and, moreover, they form geographical units, just such as would be occupied by successive settlements. Again, internal evidences (for particulars, consult the numerous books of African travel) go to show that the age of these kingdoms, as far as their aboriginal black inhabitants are concerned, varies in inverse proportion from Egypt toward the Cape, just as would result from successive settlements. Ethnological research into the characteristics of the people of these respective kingdoms also confirms the view of their close kinship, as far as physical type, language, customs, manners, arts, and institutions are concerned.

It must not be inferred that in the country supposed to have been traversed by these migrations there are no evidences of any other peoples. On the contrary, in the land of the late Lobengula there are striking evidences of an invasion or irruption of an entirely extraneous people, indicated by architectural remains and various other discoveries of late. But this is no more destructive of the general conclusion with reference to the order of these migratory settlements than the intrusion of an eruptive dike is to the general sequence of the geological strata in any formation. I purpose describing this irruption into Mashonaland, as far as we can know anything of it, elsewhere, as the existence of the light-colored people in Central Africa is probably connected with this phenomenon.

It remains to discuss the hypothesis of the degeneracy of these pygmies—that they are the degenerate forms of a previously normal stock; descended from the originally larger peo-

ples of the above migrations.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the fact of degeneracy; how peoples deteriorate from an original stock until the later resultant forms are scarcely recognizable as in any way connected with the parent type. It is only necessary to illustrate by reference to the present Latinic races, or to the less known, but equally good, example of the classes of "sand hill and cracker" whites in the Southern States of America. The state of affairs in Africa thus is conceivably due to the conquest and partial destruction of moribund kingdoms by stronger peoples, followed by the steady and progressive deterioration of the conquered until their present condition has been realized.

One way of establishing this hypothesis is through the process of exclusive reasoning. It may be safely asserted that the evidence justifies the proposition that the pygmies are either descendants of a normal stock, or the remnants of a pygmy race from which the larger tribes sprang, or both are modifications of a common stock. Now, if the third of these propositions be accepted, manifestly the ancestors were smaller than the present large races, and so the question is finally narrowed to this: Did the pygmies come from the larger people, or the

larger people from the pygmies?

In the first place, there is no authentic case on record in history where a smaller, inferior tribe or race of men gave rise to a larger and superior. The facts are just the opposite. We have Italians from Romans, French from Franks, but nowhere the reverse. In the second place, this is contrary to the admitted course of nature. Variations do occur from the type; and reversions do occur to the type; but where have we any wholesale derivation of a strong out of a weak people? But

the contrary is frequently seen, alike in the cases of individuals and peoples, where a strong people ultimately and progressively deteriorate. Moreover, if the large people came from the pygmies, in accordance with the well known fact of atavism, we might expect to find some cases of pygmies—in all points alike—born to these larger peoples, of which we have no case recorded. On the other hand, where we say that the pygmies are no variation in type, but degenerates, we do not expect to

find any reversion.

There are also positive evidences for this hypothesis. The pygmies present, in a peculiarly striking way, the phenomenon of individual similarity. They vary in appearance and all other characteristics very little from each other. Downward races tend to the dead level. Moreover, these little people, so inferior in natural power even to some apes, are the most carnivorous members of the human family. Would this not argue descent from a larger and more powerful animal? Then whence have they derived their use of the bow, and the making of their deadly poisons? Would this be the first development of an originally herbivorous animal, instead of the last and most tenaciously held weapon of a race which acquired carnivorous habits from a more powerful ancestry? Moreover, some of these pygmies possess an elaborate mythology. Whence this, some parts of which are suspiciously kin to beliefs attributed to higher races?

I may say here, again in a digression, that I once had an amusing conversation upon the subject of their asserted close relationship to the ape, with an old grey-haired pygmy, who stoutly maintained the full humanity of his people by numer-

ous arguments, and finally wound up with-

"Well, if we had the apes for our fathers, who were your fathers?"

The last argument I shall adduce here is that of the peculiar distribution of the different groups of pygmies over the surface of Africa, each group differentiated from the other, yet occupying the same geographical positions already described, and in just the way they would occur in the case of the establishment in these positions of their forefathers in kingdoms, which, in course of time, fell into successive decay and were overrun by neighbors who were then rising to power.

Before concluding, let me give, in marked contrast of these puny folk, and showing how interesting are these ethnological problems raised in Central Africa, a picture of my friend Dombi, the chieftain of the Bakuba people, who also ruled this town of the little Batwa: Six-feet-six in stature; two hundred and fifty pounds in weight; of a bright yellow color, but with no ascertainable white blood in his veins; proportions like Hercules; enormous eagle eyes, standing prominently from their sockets, and taking in the whole landscape at one sweep; a broad, high, retreating forehead; small and beautifully modeled hands and feet; aquiline features, and high cheekbones; carrying himself with quiet dignity, but, alike in appearance and manners, every inch a King.

THE RELATIONS OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN

By LEONHARD STEJNEGER of the United States National Museum

PART I

- 1

To Most people, who from time to time have read brief notices in the newspapers of strained relations and possibly impending trouble between the two nations occupying the Scandinavian peninsula, it has in all likelihood appeared as if such a conflict would be in the nature of a civil, or fratricidal, war. The appearance of external unity, born of the fact that only a single official represents, in foreign countries, the tenant of the thrones of Sweden and Norway, has caused the impression that the two peoples are not only more closely bound politically, but also more intimately related than the case is in reality. Another circumstance which has helped to impress the public in the same direction is the common usage of designating the inhabitants of these two countries collectively as "Scandinavians" simply because both live in the peninsula of that name, which, however, is nothing more than a geographic term like the "Pyrenean peninsula." It will undoubtedly surprise many to learn that a war between Sweden and Norway would not in any sense of the word be more fratricidal than one between Germany and Denmark or between Germany and Hol-An armed struggle between the United States and Canada would not be a civil war in the ordinary sense, yet the ties of blood and history, which bind us to the inhabitants of the British colony to the north, are much closer than those between the Swedes and the Norwegians. As a matter of fact, while the majority of the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula undoubtedly came of the same original Teutonic stock, nevertheless their history, from the time their ancestors followed up the retreating glaciers of the enormous ice cap (which during the Glacial epoch covered that part of Northern Europe)

and peopled the valleys on either side of the mountain backbone, which divides the peninsula in an eastern and a western half, has never been the history of one people or one country. At the dawn of northern history, before the little tribes, or clans, had been collected into the two individual nations, more than a thousand years ago, Swedes and Norwegians are already spoken of as two distinct peoples, and when the solidification of the many petty chiefdoms into two main kingdoms took place, it was effected according to their recognized nationality.

The explanation of this apparently curious phenomenon is not difficult. Man as a dweller in a country is as much subject to differentiation due to the natural surroundings as any other of its animal or vegetable inhabitants. He and the nature he selects to live among interact, and he becomes surely marked with its stamp, physically as well as mentally. And as geographic isolation in the rest of animated nature plays a great role in fixing and augmenting in a certain direction the differential characters, thus creating new species, so in man does it lay the foundation for the evolution of new nationalities. Keeping this truth in mind, it cannot surprise that those of the Scandinavians who took up their abode in Norway came to develop traits and characteristics as different from those who settled in Sweden as the one country is from the other. It is not even necessary to take into account the probable earlier ethnical differentiation of the two streams of immigrants invading the peninsula, the one along the western base of the great Scandinavian "divide," the other along the eastern; it is evident that the people which had already for centuries settled in mountainous and rugged Norway must have acquired certain habits and characteristics apart from those propagated in the dwellers and cultivators of the rich fields and lowlands of Sweden.

Thus it was but natural that the two nations, at the very beginning of history in Northern Europe, should segregate as individual and separate governments, and to the present day this state of affairs has never once ceased to exist; during the one thousand years during which the two peoples have lived side by side, not for one day have they had the same government, nor has one ever been subject to the other.

Naturally, during so long a period, the history of the two neighbors must react mutually upon them; but, as with most other neighboring countries, the history of their interrelations is the history of wars—often long and cruel. Only once, prior

to the present century, do we find them making a common outward front to the rest of the world, but it was only a temporary and brief union brought about by the intermarriage of the reigning dynasties, without affecting the individual suzerainty of the two countries, and it was soon cut asunder with the sword by Sweden.

During all the centuries of evolution from the barbarism of the viking age, through the gradual growth of civilization in mediæval times, to its unfolding and bloom in our own days, Norway and Sweden have developed along separate and often divergent lines; they have received their mental stimulant and inspiration often from different sources, through different channels, and at different times; the periods of greatness and activity of the one has been the time of decadence and insignificance of the other. Even as their thoughts and ideas went in different directions, so their language became likewise different.

It stands to reason that such a combination of evolutional factors has had the power to affect profoundly the destiny of the two nations, and it cannot cause any wonder that at the present day we find them, on the whole, more different in disposition and habits, in sympathies and ideas, in character and achievements, in mental and physical traits, than Danes and Germans, or Germans and Hollanders, nay, almost as different as Italians and Frenchmen. We are now prepared to understand the fundamentals underlying the relations between the two peoples, but before applying them to the present trouble we must cast a glance at the political history which has brought them into nearer mutual connection.

II

IN NORWAY the male line of the old dynasty of Harold Haorfagre became extinct at the death of Hakon Magnusson the Elder, 1319. His oldest daughter, Ingeborg, was married to Duke Eric, the brother of King Birger, of Sweden. Their son Magnus, then only three years old, succeeded to the throne of Norway, and as his father had been killed by King Birger, and the latter driven from Sweden in consequence, the Swedes elected Magnus, the hereditary King of Norway, to become King of Sweden as well, the two countries to be otherwise entirely independent and separate. This union only lasted to 1355, when Magnus resigned the Norwegian throne for the benefit of his second son, Hakon Magnusson the Younger.

This Hakon in turn married Margarethe, the only child of the King of Denmark, Valdemar Atterdag, and died in 1376, leaving an only son, Olav, six years old, who at once became King of Norway, in which country the succession was strictly hereditary. In Denmark, however, the nobility elected the King at each vacancy, though they were limited in their selection to members of the royal family, and Olav had already been elected King of Denmark the year previous.

This, then, was the origin of the union between Norway and Denmark, which lasted for over four hundred years. The two countries retained their separate institutions, etc., and remained—Norway a hereditary monarchy, Denmark an electorate.

In the meantime Margarethe's son died, but she continued as regent and in a war captured the Swedish King, Albrecht, and, with him, practically the throne of Sweden. The son of her sister's daughter, Eric of Pomerania, inherited the crown of Norway in 1389 and five years later he was elected King both in Denmark and in Sweden.

Thus began the union of the three Scandinavian Kingdoms which is known as the Kalmar union, from the Swedish city of Kalmar where an assembly from the three countries, in 1397, formally proclaimed the union. It was agreed that upon the death of the King one of his sons should succeed him; if he had no sons, a new King was to be elected by the "estates." The three countries were to help each other in case of war, but otherwise they were to be governed according to their own The union was not a success, however. Sweden was in a constant turmoil, sometimes the nobility being dissatisfied with the common King, sometimes the people. As a matter of fact, the Kings regarded themselves not so much as Kings of the united Kingdoms as Kings of Denmark. Sweden was regarded and treated much as a conquered province, and, naturally, the Swedish people resented this. The final dissolution of the triple union was accomplished in 1521 when Christian II. and his Danes were driven out of Sweden by the great Gustavus Vasa.

Norway and Denmark remained united, however, but, as the richer and more populous country, Denmark soon became the principal portion of the united Kingdoms. The power of the Norwegian nobility had been broken by the old Norwegian Kings, before the thrones of the two countries became occupied by the same person, while, on the other hand, the common people had not yet risen to take a hand in the affairs of State. In Denmark, on the contrary, the aristocracy was all powerful,

the Kings being scarcely anything but puppets in their hands. The throne of Denmark being elective, they demanded of each new King a written guarantee of their privileges before electing him. He, on the other hand, before election had the advantage of being already the legitimate King of Norway by inheritance. The nobility, therefore, had practically no other choice than to elect him, unless they wished a severance of the union with Norway. They, consequently, did all in their power to abrogate this position of Norway as a separate kingdom, but the Kings, just as naturally, saw their interest in maintaining this status.

At last the insolence of the Danish aristocracy, its greed and lack of public spirit and patriotism exceeded all bounds. They owned fully one-half of all lands in Denmark; the peasants were virtually slaves that were bought and sold like cattle; the common people in the towns and cities were oppressed in all possible ways, while the nobles exempted themselves from all taxes and burdens, even the duty of military service; the royal power had become reduced to a mere shadow. King Frederick III. finally revolted, and, with the assistance of the burghers and the clergy, in 1660, made Denmark an absolute and hereditary monarchy, of which he had himself proclaimed King. Norway's crown, as we have seen, had always been hereditary; the King had had his own way there; now even the appearance of political liberty became abolished. Yet Norway, in outward form and title at least, retained the status of a separate Kingdom, although owned absolutely by the Danish King. It did not become a province or an integral part of the State of Denmark. Formally, at least, the introduction of the absolutism was an advantage, inasmuch as Denmark was now placed on an equality with Norway; both were claimed by the King as his own private property or patrimony.

Politically speaking, the union with Denmark was Norway's darkest period, and curiously enough this degeneracy of the nation, which during previous centuries had been so powerful and had such glorious history, was due in the main to the gradual extinction of the old national aristocracy. It must be remembered that in those days the common people were utterly lacking in education and public spirit; the aristocracy were the only ones possessing knowledge, wealth, influence, political ambition; they alone concerned themselves with public affairs. National self-consciousness rested, as yet, only in the nobility. Thus, when in the zenith of her glory, Norway was also the

most aristocratic country of the three northern Kingdoms, but, as has been mentioned before, while in the two others the nobility finally won in the struggle with the throne for the real power, the result in Norway was quite the reverse. Royalty there gained the upper hand, the nobility was forced to the wall and lost their influence in the government. The houses of the higher aristocracy degenerated and died out gradually, chiefly from inbreeding; the lower nobles, excluded from public affairs, retired among the common people, lost their outward distinction, and, to all practical purposes, became ordinary peasants. The whole people went to sleep, politically speaking, and became so used to the King attending to all the functions of the State that it never occurred to them to question what was being done. During the régime of the Kings of Denmark, Danish nobles, as their servants, to a great extent occupied the higher offices, but, as such, were not in a position to antagonize the royal power. When King Frederick III. finally vanquished the nobility in Denmark and usurped absolute power, scarcely a protest was heard in Norway.

But while the Norwegian people thus lost all influence on the affairs of State, they preserved their individual liberty with the greatest success. In Denmark, the nobility, as we have seen, made the peasants actual slaves. In Norway, where the old Kings had crushed the native nobility, the peasants, who mostly owned their own farms, were able to defend their personal independence both against the remnants of the aristocracy and the Danish officials of the absolute King. The peasants had left the cares of the government to the King and his servants, but they tolerated no interference with their

private rights.

The introduction of the absolute régime resulted, of course, in the centralization of the government with a corresponding danger of a further decline in the consciousness of the Norwegians as a separate nationality, but various fortunate circumstances united to counterbalance this tendency. The King, his court, and the central government were located far away in Denmark, across a boisterous sea. Naturally the officials had to act, to a great extent, independently, and national traits and peculiarities became retained in the affairs of Norway in spite of the powers in Copenhagen. Since the Reformation, the written language of Norway became essentially Danish and her literature merged into that of Denmark, but the literary genius of the Norwegian people, which had manifested itself so glori-

ously in the old sagas, and which even at the present day holds the attention of the world, did not fail to assert itself at this period, and even if the language was Danish, the national peculiarities could not be obliterated. The success of the Norwegian-born authors shed glory on the name of Norway and their countrymen became proud of being Norwegians, their selfconsciousness and self-respect became aroused. At the same time Norway prospered in a material way much more than Denmark, and the Norwegians came to believe themselves the smarter of the two peoples. The formation of a separate Norwegian army and its constant wars with Sweden more than anything else, however, awoke the Norwegians to a sense of unity and solidarity. In Denmark, as we have seen, the peasants were reduced to slavery and consequently made but poor stuff for soldiers. The incessant wars had consequently to be fought with hired troops, mostly Germans. The Norwegian peasant, on the other hand, free and independent as hardly any other at that time in Europe, maintained his ancient renown for bravery and soldierly qualities. These were utilized to the utmost extent by the formation of a national army of conscripts, which, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, was the largest in Europe. This army fought, not only successfully along the frontier against the Swedes, whom, from the frequent and cruel wars, the Norwegians came to regard as their arch-enemy, but part of it had to be brought to Denmark many a time to save that country from destruction.

Finally, the increasing material welfare induced better education and enlightenment. Among the peasants the old historical tradition had never wholly died out. Now, in the century of Voltaire and Rousseau, the higher educated classes turned their attention to the study of the ancient history of their race. It taught them what their people had achieved during the viking age and the glorious days of the national dynasty, kindling in them a belief that what Norway once had been it might become again. The Rousseauan idealization of primitive conditions was taken up with enthusiasm and applied to life in rural Norway. The Norwegian farmer was held up as the example of the ideal man. Voltaire and Rousseau were followed by that mighty upheaval, the French Revolution. Small wonder that its teachings fired the younger generation, particularly the Norwegian youth at the University in Copenhagen. To them the conditions as they saw them in their home appeared to approach that ideal for the acquisition of which the rest of Europe went into convulsions. The democracy which was the dream of other peoples was realized among the mountains of far-away

Norway.

It thus came to pass that the very condition which during feudal times had been the cause of Norway's national decline became its strength and salvation in the epoch which inscribed Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity on its banners. The peasant democracy of Norway at the beginning of the nineteenth century was abreast of the spirit of the times!

It is but fair to state that the peasantry itself was as yet unconscious of this, but the educated classes, the officials and the clergy, were thoroughly imbued with this view. The primeval

democrat, the freeborn peasant, was their ideal.

III

LET us now see how history had shaped itself in Sweden

since the breaking off of the Kalmar union.

With the election of Gustavus Vasa to the vacant throne, after he had ejected Christian II. and his Danes, Sweden entered upon an era of greatness and glory. From being an elective monarchy it was soon proclaimed hereditary in the male line of the Vasa dynasty. The grandson of Gustavus Vasa, the great Gustavus Adolphus as he is known to the world, by his successful war against Russia, added Kexholm, Carelia, and the Baltic province of Ingermanland to the Swedish crown, shutting Russia entirely out from the sea, and when, in 1632, he fell, crowned with victory, on the plains of Lützen, in Germany, after having repeatedly defeated the armies of the Roman Emperor under Tilly and Wallenstein, thus saving Protestantism in Germany from annihilation, Sweden had become one of the great military powers of the world. The war in Germany was continued after his death and at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, Sweden received her award in the addition of the German duchies of Bremen, Verden, Western Pomerania, part of Eastern Pomerania, and Wismar to her trans-Baltic possessions. She became recognized as one of the States of the Roman (German) Empire. Under the two following Kings, Charles X. and Charles XI., Sweden not only maintained her military supremacy but added to her possessions so that in 1670 nearly all the countries bordering upon the Baltic Sea east of Denmark obeyed her sceptre. Practically the Baltic, with the Gulfs of Bottnia, Finland, and Riga, was a Swedish inland sea. During more than two centuries of nearly continuous wars Swedish bravery and statesmanship had raised a comparatively insignificant country to the pinnacle of political importance as one of the leading powers of Europe. Warlike and grand-political instincts and aspirations took hold of the ruling classes, and military greatness became the ideal and the dream of the nation.

This is, then, the most glorious period in Sweden's history, as glory is most commonly regarded, and the halo of that time is naturally still lingering in the memory of the people. This spirit was typified in the young King, Charles XII., by whom it was carried to its logical extreme of almost insane recklessness. Nothing, it seemed, could stop the Swedish arms, especially after Charles at Narva, with a handful of Swedes, had routed Tsar Peter's Russian host, and King Augustus II. was driven from the throne of Poland. Charles even threatened Moskva, but the colossus of the East was now awakening, and in 1709, at Pultava, the overwhelming multitudes of Peter the Great broke the power of Sweden. Prussia was also taking shape; Hanover, by the accession of the House of Brunswick to the English throne, was likewise becoming an important factor in European politics. Charles XII., however, with headstrong obstinacy, though paired with sublime daring and wonderful military skill, rushed to his destruction. He planned to conquer Norway and from there to cross over to England in order to place the Pretender on the throne and thus punish Hanover. The Norwegians stopped him, however, at the frontier, and when he fell, in 1718, at the siege of the Norwegian fortress Fredriksten, mourned and admired by his people in spite of all the misery he had brought down upon them, Sweden sank suddenly to a power of the third Three years after she had lost nearly all her possessions south and east of the Baltic except Finland.

During the remainder of the eighteenth century Sweden was much rent by internal dissensions; yet at one time she seemed to rally under the guidance of Gustavus III., and to retrieve some of her lost position and prestige, but after his assassination in 1792 and the accession of his insanely obstinate son, Gustavus IV. Adolphus, the final stroke came. During the unfortunate war with Russia, the Swedish army, in spite of the most heroic bravery, had to vacate Finland in 1809. It was of but little use that the pig-headed King was dethroned, the price of the peace with Russia was the severance of Finland

from Sweden. This was the saddest blow, for while the inhabitants of the other trans-Baltic possessions were people of different nationalities, the ruling classes in Finland were of the same

blood, were Swedes themselves.

The chief cause of Sweden's phenomenal growth and power after the dissolution of the Kalmar union is undoubtedly to be found in the relations between the aristocracy and the royal power. True, we find a series both of uncommonly capable Kings and equally capable warriors and statesmen among the nobility, but it is questionable whether this great development of military as well as civic talent was not directly due to the interaction between the throne and the nobles. In this respect the history of Sweden is entirely different from that of Denmark and Norway. The evolution of the latter country resulted, as we have seen, in the broadest type of peasant democracy. In Denmark the aristocracy at first reigned supreme with an elective shadow King until the pendulum swung to the other extreme resulting in the most extreme absolutism, while the peasantry under both forms of government remained in abject slavery. Not so in Sweden. The common people, although practically without any influence on the political affairs, retained their personal liberty, because neither of the two powers, the nobles and the Kings, were at any time so overwhelmingly strong as not to need, at least occasionally, the help of the people against each other. Here, as elsewhere, the struggle was fought between the throne and the mighty nobles, but neither of them gained the upper hand for any great length of time.

The Reformation and the consequent sequestration of the estates and possessions of the Catholic Church in Sweden, resulted not only in the enormous enrichment of the nobility, but they were at the same time rid of a most formidable rival in the Catholic clergy. In the subsequent establishment, in 1617, of a Diet (Riksdag) the four "estates," viz.: nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasantry, were all included, but the Lutheran clergy never acquired any particular influence in public affairs, and the participation of the burghers and the peasants was chiefly an empty formality. The nobility ruled the Riksdag. Their wealth and influence increased immensely during the Thirty Years' War and the reign of Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, but they had a severe, though brief, setback under Charles X., and again under his son, Charles XI., who actually achieved absolute power. With the death of Charles XII. the male line of the dynasty died out and the nobility improved the opportunity to elect his sister, Ulrica Eleonora, only on the condition that she renounce the absolutism acquired by her father. During the following fifty years the nobility exercised all the political power, although badly divided into two factions. So shadowy had the King's power become, that once, when King Adolph Frederick refused to sign a document, it was decided that, if he should ever attempt it again, his signature might be affixed by means of a stamp. His son, Gustavus III., was not to be treated thus, however. In 1772, by a coup d'état, he succeeded in depriving the nobles of their influence, and in 1789 he even assumed absolute power. The nobility, however, finally got rid of him by assassination in 1792. His son, Gustavus IV., who had the most extravagant ideas of the royal prerogatives was finally dethroned by the Riksdag in 1809. Charles XIII., his uncle, was then elected King upon the acceptance of a constitution by which the royal power was considerably limited. Some political rights were secured for the common people, and the nobility relinquished its freedom from taxation, but it retained its hereditary right to the seats in the Riksdag. The nobility thus came out ahead in the struggle.

IV

THE dethronement of Gustavus IV. in Sweden took place during the war with Denmark and Norway. It was carried out by the military chiefs guarding the frontier against the latter country, and was made possible by the Norwegian commanderin-chief, Prince Christian Augustus of Augustenborg, promising to abstain from hostilities until the Swedes could enforce the abdication of their King. The war ended soon after, and the new Swedish King, Charles XIII., being without heirs, the liberal Prince of Augustenborg was elected crown prince to succeed him, it being the secret hope that the Norwegians, who were strongly attached to him, might in time be induced to ally themselves to Sweden. This hope was doomed to a speedy disappointment, as the prince died suddenly in 1810. Through a series of most extraordinary circumstances the choice of an heir to the Swedish throne now fell upon Jean Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo, Marshal of France, and one of Napoleon's ablest generals. Son of an obscure lawyer in Gascogne, this one-time rabid republican and revolutionist, at the end of his career became the founder of a new dynasty at the

extreme north of Europe, the only survivor in suzerain power of all the great men of the French Revolution, the only person, almost, who saved himself out of the gigantic Napoleonic wreck.

At this period, however, Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. After the signing of the peace with Russia at Tilsit, in 1807, the whole of continental Europe was lying at the feet of the conqueror. The insane King of Sweden alone resisted, aided by English subsidies. But even England's help could not save the unfortunate country against the united power of France, Russia, and Denmark-Norway, and only a speedy peace (1809) prevented its total annihilation and partition. The conditions were hard, for, as we have seen, Sweden had to give up Finland

to the Tsar of the Russians.

This was the status of his future kingdom when Bernadotte took hold of affairs. By the cession of Finland, Sweden had lost its ancient prestige as a great military power, and the leading statesmen were looking around for compensation. A new union of the three North countries found many advocates in Sweden then, but if Denmark could not be joined, the desire for the acquisition of Norway was nearly unanimous. Bernadotte, who practically was at the head of the government, the King being old and feeble, at once made himself the leader of this movement, and the welding of the crown of Norway to that of Sweden became the goal toward which he directed his unflagging energies. Scenting the coming battle between Napoleon and Alexander I. of Russia, and seeing that the former could harm him but little, he came to a secret understanding with Alexander, by which the latter guaranteed Norway to the King of Sweden as the price for an alliance against France. England, in 1813, joined this agreement and when, after Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Moskva, all his vassals, except Frederick VI. of Denmark, left him, Prussia and Austria also became parties to the alliance and the guarantee.

The King of Denmark, upon the breaking out of the war with Sweden and England, in 1813, knew well that he was fighting for the possession of Norway. England, in 1807, by one of the most perfidious acts known to history, while at peace with Denmark, had destroyed at one blow the unsuspecting Danish navy, and the temporary separation of Denmark and Norway by English men-of-war was now, consequently, to be foreseen. The Danish crown prince, Christian Frederick, was therefore sent to Norway as commander-in-chief and head of the government in Christiania. Communication with Denmark was soon nearly completely shut off by the English cruisers, and Norway left to her own resources. Prince Christian was a very winning personality, of graceful manners, an upright character, and an open hopeful disposition, so that he soon won the hearts of the loyal Norwegians. On the other hand, he was lacking in backbone; injudicious in the selection of his favorites, and, above all, incapable as a military commander and cowardly as a soldier. But these fatal weaknesses of his make-up did not become apparent until it was too late to avert the results.

Schwarzenberg, Blücher, and Bernadotte had crushed Napoleon at Leipzic (October 16–19, 1813) and the remnants of the French armies were being driven over the Rhine. In this pursuit Bernadotte's aid was not essential, so he was left free to follow his own plans. He marched his army northward and at Sehestedt, in Holstein, he beat the Danish army. Denmark was at the mercy of the victor, and Frederick VI. hastened to make peace, which was signed at Kiel January 14, 1814. Bernadotte was now near his goal, the acquisition of Norway. By the terms of the Treaty of Kiel, the King of Denmark absolved his Norwegian subjects from their oath of allegiance and transferred all his rights to the Kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden.

This arrangement suited neither the Norwegian people, who believed they had a right to have a voice in the disposition of the Norwegian crown, nor Prince Christian Frederick, who considered himself entitled to the crown which King Frederick VI. had thus ignominiously relinquished. As soon as he heard of the Treaty of Kiel he determined to ignore it, but uncertain as to his own status he called a council of the most influential men of the country on February 16. These men, having been absolved by the former King from their allegiance to him, argued that the sovereignty had reverted to the people and, denying his right to transfer the crown to any other person without the consent of the Norwegian people, they also had to deny the right of the prince to the throne. Prince Christian finally declared himself convinced of the correctness of this view, and it was agreed that he should only assume the title and act as regent until a constitutional assembly could be convocated. Elections were held forthwith and the 112 men to whom the people entrusted the task of framing a constitution met on April 10, 1814, at Eidsvold, about thirty-five miles north of Christiania.

Inspired by the ideas of the Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution, a rough draft based upon the French constitution of 1791 was used as a groundwork and in seventeen days the committee finished its report. By the middle of May the new constitution, which in many respects is a most remarkable document, had been agreed upon. Republican in substance, though monarchial in form, it is not only the freest but also the oldest written constitution based on a uniformly elected representation now in force in Europe. Democratic. yet conservative; firm, yet flexible, it has proven a most admirable instrument for the preservation of liberty in word and action. Based on true liberal principles, it has shown a wonderful vitality, and being born of a progressive age it has been found to possess a rare adaptability to the advance of liberal development. Given by the people in unrestricted possession of its full sovereignty it differs from most other European constitutions, which the oppressed nations later on gradually wrested from their unwilling lords, or were presented with as a royal favor grudgingly bestowed in anticipation of possible later compulsion. The chief points, in which it thus distinguishes itself and which have made it so eminent a tool for the expression of the will of the people, are the lack of an absolute veto in the hands of the King and the absence of an "upper" house of the Parliament, which might serve the King as a means of defeating the popular will. In order to appreciate the character of this constitution as well as to understand the later developments, it will be necessary to quote extensively from the instrument itself, but as later amendments have somewhat altered the sequence and designation of the Articles they will be introduced later in their proper places. In this connection it is only necessary to add that the constitution was finished and sworn to by the deputies on May 17, 1814, which thus became the national holiday of Norway, its "Fourth-of-July." The same day Prince Christian Frederick was unanimously elected King of Norway, whereupon the constitutional assembly at once adjourned sine die.

War with Sweden had thus become inevitable, but Bernadotte was not yet ready. In fact, he and the better part of his army were still in Germany. The Swedish government consequently turned to the four signatory powers, Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria, for help. They had guaranteed to Sweden the possession of Norway and it was now plain both that Norway was unwilling to become a province of Sweden and, moreover, that Sweden would be unable to enforce the demand unaided. The financial as well as the military status of Sweden was not so much superior to that of Norway that a war of

conquest could have the slightest chance of success, and Bernadotte understood the situation full well. On the other hand, if all the big powers of Europe which had just crushed France and exiled Napoleon to Elba were to wage war against her, Norway might well pause before she undertook the uneven struggle. If it could be made plain to the Norwegians that the "holy alliance" were in earnest they would surely submit without a shot being fired. This was at least Bernadotte's opinion and that of the Swedes, who also erroneously believed that the unexpected resistance of the Norwegians was due to intrigues of Christian Frederick and the King of Denmark, rather than to any particular desire for independence and liberty in the people them-The signatory powers acknowledged the justice of Sweden's demand, and Russia promised an army corps of 30,000 men, while England blockaded the entire Norwegian coast with the intention of reducing the inhabitants to choose between famine and dependence. At the same time it was decided to send a high commission consisting of one envoy from each of the four signatory powers to Copenhagen and Christiania in order to demand in their name unconditional submission to the terms of the Treaty of Kiel.

Those were not the days of electric telegraphs and railroads, and while events were developing with astounding rapidity in Norway, the knowledge of them reached Europe but slowly on account of the isolated and distant location of that country. So it came to pass that the instructions which the high commissioners carried were based upon conditions not longer in existence. When they arrived in Christiania they found a situation which had not been provided for by their respective governments, and at that distance it was manifestly impossible to obtain concerted additional instructions in time. Instead of a rebellious prince of Denmark trying to rouse an apathetic people to resistance against the mandate of the Treaty of Kiel with a view of preserving Norway for the King of Denmark, they encountered, on their arrival in Christiania on the last day of June, an enthusiastic and united people who had given themselves a free constitution, established a permanent government, elected a King, and who, with a large, if not too well provisioned, army and a respectable navy were ready to resist to death the invasion of the hated Swedes. At the same time Bernadotte was hurrying his troops towards the Norwegian frontier and a clash of arms appeared imminent. Under these circumstances the high commissioners took it upon themselves to act as they saw fit.

While publicly and formally warning Christian Frederick that they were there to effectuate the terms of the Treaty of Kiel, they actually turned negotiators and mediators between him and Bernadotte. They virtually abandoned the Treaty and only strove to prevent bloodshed and to bring about a union between the two countries upon whatever conditions it could be obtained. Various motives may have influenced the special envoys. In England there was a strong and influential opposition in Parliament against forcing Norway, and it is notorious that the English prince-regent personally disliked Bernadotte; Russia was not over-anxious to strengthen Sweden's hand; Prussia and Austria had no direct interest either way, and, moreover, they were not expected to interfere, either with soldiers or with ships. Large portions of the secret correspondence of the special mission of the powers have recently been published and throw a flood of light not only on these negotiations but also help to explain Bernadotte's sudden change of attitude later on.

The Russian commissioner was General Orlof, one of the adjutants of Alexander I., a soldier and not a diplomatist. The English member of the commission was August J. Foster, the same who had been English Minister to the United States at the breaking out of the War of 1812. In a confidential letter, written before the negotiations were finally broken off, he plainly indicates the leanings of the commissioners towards the cause of Norway as well as some of the motives of the entire transaction

in the following language:

Don't think it so easy to form or induce a happy issue to our negotiations—the most difficult thing is to make the Norwegians believe that we are serious, and to let the Swedes at the same time fear that we are not so.

In the union between Norway and Sweden, should it take place, it will be very desirable to allow the countries to be as independent of each other as possible—and to prevent any germ of dispute which might authorize the interference of Russia hereafter in the internal affairs of both Kingdoms. General Orlof wished to have yet Prince Christian [i.e. King Christian Frederick] to insert an article in the constitution by which Sweden could never have called on Norway to furnish troops in any case to Sweden.

could never have called on Norway to furnish troops in any case to Sweden.

As to the Crown Prince [Bernadotte] he will probably be glad to meet the propositions half way—his officers do not relish much the tirailleurs of Norway, and such a country of defiles as it is. Besides, any reverse might shake him in this country [Sweden]. As far as I can discover, he is popular in the army, but there are some grandees who do not much like him

and I rather think Essen [next in command] is one of them.

In explanation of part of this letter, it may be stated that the commissioners, in their negotiations with the King of Norway, soon obtained his consent to his abdication, provided the Norwegian Diet, or Storting, which was to be assembled at the

earliest possible date, would accept it and agree to the principle of the union with Sweden upon conditions to be fixed by the Diet. To make this possible, the Swedes were to agree to an armistice and the raising of the blockade by the English. As a guarantee of good faith, the Norwegian troops were to evacuate the country east of the river Glommen, as well as the two frontier fortresses, Fredriksten and Fredrikstad, the entire evacuated territory to remain neutral, or, if the Swedes refused this, the fortresses to be garrisoned temporarily by the troops of the allied powers. Finally, Christian Frederick demanded the guarantee of the four powers that the King of Sweden would live up to his part of the agreement. The envoys, leaving Christiania in high hopes of having accomplished the amicable union of the two countries, took the above propositions to Bernadotte personally. In a letter to his government, Mr. Foster wrote of them on July 16 as follows:

My colleagues, the Russian and Prussian envoys, are satisfied that, considering all the circumstances of the case, it would have been unreasonable to expect more. For my part, I think it possible that if we had threatened to depart immediately, unless we obtained a promise of unconditional abdication on the part of His Highness [Christian Frederick], we should have succeeded, for he was evidently much intimidated and alarmed for the first two or three days after our arrival, and only asked us to point out any honorable means of retreat from his engagements. Had we, however, failed in the experiment, we might have been accused of hasty conduct in quitting Christiania so precipitately, and we had to consider, not only the best method of compassing Prince Christian's resignation, but likewise of reconciling the people of Norway to the proposed change of government.

Two days later he adds:

Baron de Martens [the Prussian envoy], who is well acquainted with His Royal Highness [Bernadotte], is disposed to think that he will not be disinclined to close with the proposals of Prince Christian, and it is said that the Swedish army in general would be well pleased with having a fair pretext for escaping from the kind of warfare which awaits them among the rocks of Norway.

Much to their disgust, when, on the 22d of July, the envoys handed the propositions to Bernadotte he "expressed the most entire dissatisfaction at the proposals," to use Foster's words. So displeased were they, in fact, that at one time they seriously contemplated leaving Bernadotte to his own resources. To quote Mr. Foster again, writing on July 26, in a "private and secret" letter to the English Minister of Foreign Affairs:

I can only say that the day before yesterday we were determined to depart for Copenhagen: some of my colleagues being out of humor and rather

irritated at not having succeeded: the Crown Prince [Bernadotte] having rejected all the propositions of which we were bearers from Prince Christian, as being hollow and calculated only to gain time—we are now, however, again about to set out for Norway to renew our efforts with Prince Christian.

The new efforts related chiefly to the occupancy of the fortresses by Swedish troops during the armistice and the unconditional and immediate abdication of Christian Frederick as King. The latter maintained, however, that under the Norwegian constitution he had no power to grant these conditions, and as the envoys had already agreed that this standpoint was just and reasonable* they had nothing further to do but to carry the rejection of these terms to Bernadotte and depart for home. The mediation of the great powers had failed. They came at Bernadotte's behest to summon the Norwegians to unconditional subjugation under the Treaty of Kiel. They departed in disgust, because Bernadotte would not listen to reason, and the envoys washed their hands of the whole affair.

In the meantime actual hostilities had begun. On the main war theatre, the southeastern corner of Norway, Bernadotte now faced King Christian Frederick with a superior army and gradually forced the Norwegian troops back to the further side of the river Glommen. The latter army was spoiling for a fight, but Christian Frederick's incapacity and personal cowardice prevented it from acting on the aggressive, and even kept one of the Norwegian generals from following up a decided advantage achieved by his troops during their slow retreat. The Fredrikstad fortress surrendered after a short bombardment, it was thought upon secret orders from King Christian. This was the main military situation on August 4.

Up to this time the Swedish Government had placed itself unbendingly upon the standpoint of the Treaty of Kiel and demanded the surrender of the Norwegians as a matter of right derived from the transfer by the King of Denmark. The King of Sweden had issued a proclamation, in which, assuming the title of King of Norway, he declared the constitution of the 17th of May illegal, the constitutional assembly revolutionary, and stigmatized the people who dared to oppose the mandate of the Treaty of Kiel as rebels and traitors. As long as Bernadotte

^{*&}quot;Tout ce que, selon moi, le Prince Crétien pouvait accorder raisonnablement," von Martens in letter to Prince Hardenberg.

held this view, war to the knife was inevitable, and while he might continue to force the Norwegian army back into the mountains, these hardy troops would be able to defend themselves and the independence of their country there for years, or, in fact, as long as they had any food and ammunition. England's mediation having been so ignominously rejected by Bernadotte, it was not probable that the English statesmen would longer lend themselves to the disgraceful task of starving the Norwegian people into subjugation. Bernadotte knew this well. He was undoubtedly not only a far-seeing statesman and consummate diplomat, but he was also a man of action and energy, who did not wait long before executing the decision he had reached. Napoleon was crushed and the European reaction was soon in full sway. Many small incidents had already shown Bernadotte that the old legitimistic dynasties were looking more or less unfavorably upon him now that his services were no longer needed. Moreover, having rejected the conditions considered reasonable by the emissaries of the powers, he could count neither on their moral nor their physical assistance. Finally, he doubtless saw through the designs of at least one of the envoys who would have been only too glad to have had the union arranged so that his sovereign afterward might intervene in the domestic affairs between Sweden and Norway. Perhaps he knew of the desire of the Russian envoy to have Norway placed in the position to be able to refuse Sweden help in case of war, and most likely he scented danger in the last Article, which required the powers to guarantee to the Norwegians the fulfilment of the agreement on the part of Sweden.

It seems even probable that Bernadotte, at the last moment, anxious though he was to arrange affairs speedily and without bloodshed, deliberately played his cards so that the mediation of the powers came to naught, and that it was with great satisfaction he saw the envoys depart. The fact is, namely, that no sooner had they turned their backs upon him, than Bernadotte himself secretly opened negotiations with Christian Frederick, whom he offered conditions even more favorable than those the latter had asked for through the envoys, in spite of the fact that thus far the military advantage had been on Bernadotte's side. The latter's desire to win for himself personally the good will of the Norwegians, as a possible offset to the opposition of certain classes in Sweden, as well as the natural sympathy in the old revolutionary hero for their struggle for liberty, may have been additional factors. It is also quite within his known

character to have hoped to gain more later on.* Whatever may have been his motives, the fact is, that on August 5 he sent two men to Christian Frederick with proposals which were a complete backdown from the former Swedish demands. No more reference to the Treaty of Kiel, no more diatribes against the illegality of the acts of the Constitutional Assembly; no more calling the Norwegian troops rebels and traitors. On the contrary, he offered to regard the constitution of the 17th of May as binding; he recognized the army and its officers as regular belligerents; and he asked of Christian Frederick that the latter should—not transfer to himself the executive power - but return it to the Diet which was to be convocated at once. though he should cease to exercise its functions under some kind of pretext, leaving the affairs to be administered in the meantime in his name by the Cabinet. Christian Frederick and his councillors at once agreed to this basis for further negotiations. Bernadotte, just as he was giving the final instructions to the officers who were to arrange for the details of the armistice, received the report of the very serious reverses which his northern army corps had suffered on August 5, when the Norwegians, under Colonel Krebs, completely routed General Gahn's forces at Martrand. This may have influenced him to yield further in the negotiations, even to renouncing the title of "Prince Royal de Suède et de la Norvège," which, up to that time, he had arrogated to himself on the strength of the Treaty of Kiel. The negotiations finally resulted in the armistice and so-called "convention" of Moss, in which city it was signed on August 14. The conditions mentioned above were agreed to, the line of demarcation between the two armies being essentially the status quo at the conclusion of the armistice.

The only positive result obtained by this agreement was Christian Frederick's promise of unconditional abdication. The Norwegian Parliament would yet have to decide whether

the union should take place or not.

The extraordinary Diet, or Storting, convened in Christiania on October 7, and received the letter of abdication by the King on the 10th. Its next function was to determine whether

^{*}About this time he wrote a letter in which the following paragraph occurs: "Il est de la plus grande conséquence, que l'affaire de la Norvège soit terminée avant que le congrès de Vienne vienne en activité; il est necessaire, que l'Europe voie que la réunion de la Norvège se fasse librement et avec une parfaite unanimité; pour atteindre ce but, il ne faut pas hésiter de faire des sacrifices, qu'on pouvra refaire à une autre diète."

a union with Sweden were to be entertained, and on October 20 it decided that "Norway, as an independent Kingdom, was to be united with Sweden under one King on certain conditions." These conditions were the recognition of the constitution of the 17th of May, with only such amendments as the proposed. union made absolutely necessary. These were agreed to by the beginning of November, and not until then did the Storting accept Christian Frederick's abdication and relieve him of his oath. Having been notified that the Swedish King was willing to swear allegiance to the amended constitution, the Storting finally, on November 4, 1813, elected Charles XIII. King of Norway. The constitution was promulgated by the Storting in its own name, the Diet declaring specifically that according to its very nature the constitution does not require the royal sanction. No such sanction was ever asked nor given.

In Norway the union was received with loyal dignity, though without any show of either joy or dissatisfaction. In Sweden, however, it was at first greeted with excessive manifestations of jubilation and triumph. The cause of this was that the Swedish people as yet had only partly understood the nature of the union, having, in fact, been to some extent directly deceived by Bernadotte, who did not want any interference until the whole was over. To those who had dreamt of a conquest, the result was a bitter disappointment, and it is well known that the old King, Charles XIII., used the expression that "it was a union to weep over." Bernadotte, however, was satisfied. The possible machinations at Vienna were effectually checkmated. Metternich or the Russian Tsar would have no excuse for interfering between Sweden and Norway. To clinch this officially, a diplomatic note was sent by the King to the powers, in which the new union was expressly announced as the result of a friendly arrangement between the two nations, independent of the stipulations of the Treaty of Kiel.* By this act the King of Sweden formally and once for all renounced his fancied claims under that Treaty.

^{*&}quot;It is plain that as Norway's Storting of its own accord and free choice has elected His Swedish Majesty King of Norway, we owe the union of Norway and Sweden, not to the conditions of the Treaty of Kiel but to the confidence of the Norwegian nation."

V

THE amendments made by the extraordinary Storting in the constitution of the 17th of May were only such as the union with Sweden under one King rendered absolutely necessary. None of the liberties of the people were abridged, none of its democratic features weakened, none of the royal prerogatives increased. Swedish persons and Swedish institutions were given no rights not possessed by citizens and institutions of other countries. Nor was there provided for any institutions in common except such as relate directly to the King and the royal succession, the election of a new dynasty in case of the former dying out, the exercise of the royal prerogatives during the interim in such a case, and the regency during the minority of the King. In all these functions the absolute equality of Norway with Sweden was carefully guarded, its representation being equal in number and an alternate presidency provided for.

It is beyond the purpose of this paper to point out in detail the truly liberal and democratic—we might almost say republican—character of this constitution which so jealously guards the rights of the people, born as it was in a period of storm and stress, but it will facilitate the understanding of the nature of the union thus accomplished if we quote the exact wording of its more essential paragraphs, since the standpoint of the Norwegian people under the strained relations between the two countries of later years is thus clearly indicated.*

The initial Article provides that

"The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable State, united with Sweden under one King. Its form of government is a limited, hereditary monarchy."

According to Article III "the executive power shall be vested in the King," who, as prescribed in Article IX, "shall take the following oath before the Storting: 'I promise and depose that I will govern the Kingdom of Norway conformable to its constitution and laws, so help me God and His holy writ.'" Article XI demands that "the King shall reside in Norway a part of each year, if not prevented by serious obstacles." Owing to the necessity of the King living part of the time in

^{*}The quotations follow chiefly an excellent translation by United States Senator Knute Nelson: The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway. Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1899. Small 8vo., 27 pp.

Sweden, the Cabinet, which must consist of Norwegian Citizens only (Article XII), is divided into two sections, the main body, which resides in Norway, consisting of the heads of departments, "who shall carry on the government in the name and on behalf of the King" (Article XIII), and a branch, consisting of three members, who, according to Article XV, "shall constantly remain with the King while he resides in Sweden. They shall be subject to the same obligations and to the same constitutional accountability as the governing Ministry, named in Article XIII, existing in Norway, and only in their presence shall Norwegian affairs be disposed of by the King." King, after hearing his Ministry in Norway, shall appoint and induct all civil, ecclesiastical, and military officials" (Article XXI). These, according to Article XXIII, he can only remove or transfer, without their consent, after due process of law in the courts, except that he "may, after taking advice of the Ministry, without the warrant of judicial decree, remove from office the Ministers and Secretaries of State, together with officials in the bureaus of the Ministry, ambassadors and consuls, the chief civil and ecclesiastical officials, and the commanding officers of fortresses and ships of war."

Article XXV, while making the King commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces of the realm, at the same time provides that "in time of peace, none but Norwegian troops shall be stationed in Norway and no Norwegian troops shall be stationed in Sweden," but as many as 3,000 men of the nearest troops may be brought into either country for a short time, not exceeding six weeks, for manœuvres only. "Norway's troops and navy shall not be employed in offensive war without the consent of the Storting." "The home guard and the other Norwegian troops, not classed as troops of the line, shall never be em-

ployed outside of the boundaries of Norway."

Of Article XXVI, we only quote the first paragraph, to the effect that "the King shall have power to call out the troops, to commence war and make peace, to enter into alliances, and to withdraw from the same, and to send and receive diplomatic representatives," the rest of the Article dealing with the duties

of the King when he contemplates war.

Article XXVIII is interesting inasmuch as it exempts "diplomatic affairs and military commands" from presentation at the ordinary cabinet council, especially if compared with Article XXXI, in which only the "military commands" are exempt from the necessity of being countersigned by the Minister of

State, thus implying that his signature is necessary in case of

the resolutions relating to diplomatic affairs.

One of the Articles which have caused most trouble, because it bears more directly upon the union, is Article XXXVIII, which says that "the Norwegian Minister of State, as well as the two Norwegian Counsellors of State remaining with the King [i.e. the branch of the Norwegian cabinet residing in Stockholm], shall have a seat and deliberative voice in the Swedish cabinet meeting when matters concerning both Kingdoms are there considered." This is the "joint council" or "Swedish-Norwegian council of State," of which we shall hear more further on.

"The people shall exercise the legislative power through a Storting, composed of two bodies, a Lagting and an Odelsting," according to Article XLIX, but these are not independent bodies, like the two houses of our Congress. On the contrary, the delegates are elected for the Storting, "which selects from its members one-fourth, who constitute the Lagting, the other three-fourths constitute the Odelsting" (Article LXXIII). All bills are first introduced in the Odelsting, either by a member or by the government through one of the cabinet ministers. the bill is there passed, it is sent to the Lagting which may concur or reject it, in the latter case returning it with objections appended. These are then considered by the Odelsting which may either indefinitely postpone the bill or again submit it to the Lagting, with or without amendments. In case of a second rejection by the latter, the entire Storting assembles in one body and disposes of the bill by a two-thirds vote. At least three days must intervene between every such distinct consideration of the bill. The bill thus passed by the Odelsting and concurred in by the Lagting or the united Storting is next sent to the King for his sanction. If he approves, he affixes his signature; if he disapproves of it "he shall return it to the Odelsting with the statement that for the time being he does not find it expedient to sanction the same." This phrase shows the royal veto which only relates to ordinary legislative bills, as distinct from constitutional amendments and fiscal decrees or appropriations-to be only a temporary or "suspensive Article LXXIX points the way how to overcome it. According to this Article, if a bill has been passed, without amendment, by three regular Stortings, elected separately and successively, during sessions separated by at least two intervening regular sessions, then "it shall become law notwithstanding the King fails to sanction the same before the adjournment of the Storting." The above rules apply only to legislative bills; appropriations are made by the whole Stor-

ting, and are not subject to any royal veto.

Article LXXV is a very important one, inasmuch as it specifically enumerates the subjects within the sphere of the Storting's power. We shall here only quote paragraph g as the one of greatest interest to us in the present connection. It is there expressly provided that "the Storting shall have the prerogative: . . To cause to be communicated to them the alliances and treaties which the King, on behalf of the State, has entered into with foreign powers, except secret articles, which must not, however, conflict with those that are public."

Of the "General Provisions" we shall only mention Article XCII, which provides that "public offices shall be filled only by Norwegian citizens," exceptions being made for instructors in the university and learned schools, physicians, and consuls in foreign places, and Article CXI which relates to the flag and which, consequently, is of so imminent interest just at present. Briefly and tersely its provisions are as follows: "Norway shall be entitled to have its own merchant flag. Its naval ensign

shall be a union flag."

The last Article (CXII) contains the only directions for procedure in case of amendments to the constitution. The proposition therefor must be submitted to the first annual session of a Storting after the election, and printed. It cannot, however, be acted upon by that Storting, but lies over until a new regular Storting convenes after the next election. "Such amendment shall not contravene the principles of this constitution, and shall only relate to such modifications in single provisions as will not change the spirit of this constitution, and shall be concurred in by two-thirds of the Storting." Not a single word is said about such amendment having to be submitted to the King for his sanction, as is natural enough since the same Storting which framed the constitution and afterwards elected the royal dynasty, expressly declared that the constitution, according to its nature, does not require royal sanction.

VI

A PERUSAL of the constitution of 1814, shows that according to it Norway is a perfectly independent and sovereign country, supplied with all the attributes as such. The King

elected is also the King of Sweden, but he is none the less the King of Norway. When acting under the authority of the Norwegian constitution, he acts as King of Norway only. It knows no union King. In his dual capacity he acts as King of Sweden, or as King of Norway separately, or if the matter concerns both countries, he acts as King of Sweden and King of Norway simultaneously. There is no country Norway-Sweden; there is no King of any Norway-Sweden. The Swedish King, in 1814, accepted the constitution and the crown on his own personal behalf, but Sweden was a constitutional monarchy, and his action did not, of necessity, bind that of the Swedish nation, which was not even consulted as to the conditions, though the King had reserved the constitutional rights of the Swedish Diet, or Riksdag, in so far as any changes might be necessary in the Swedish constitution.

It will consequently be seen that thus far there was no international binding agreement between the two countries, the constitution of Norway, of course, being subject only to the will of the Norwegian people, even in such points as related to the union. It was in no sense whatever an international document conferring rights upon or concerning any other nation. This was manifestly a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and as both the Norwegian Storting and the Swedish Riksdag were in session simultaneously during a part of 1815, the opportunity was embraced to formally draw up a treaty between the two Parliaments, by which the relations between the two countries were to be defined. Thus originated the Union Act (the so-called "Riks-act") which was signed August 6, 1815.

This act, which is the only federal document of international legality between the two countries, and which consequently is the only legal foundation for the union between the two countries—whatever claim the dynasty may otherwise have upon the crown of Norway—consists only of twelve Articles, which, with few exceptions, are verbal repetitions of those Articles in the Norwegian constitution, which were included in it on account of the union. The additions relate chiefly to the government ad interim in case of the thrones being vacant and the regency during the King's minority. The nature of the union was not changed or amended in a single instance, no new feature was introduced, and, as in the constitution of Norway, so in the union act the absolute equality, real and formal, between the two countries, is jealously guarded. As a proof of this the chief additional paragraph is that of Article V, which

establishes the "joint council of State," for the consideration of affairs concerning both kingdoms, by giving three Swedish Counsellors of State, or Ministers, seat and deliberative voice in the Norwegian cabinet meeting, whenever such affairs are considered there, consequently the exact counterpart of Article XXXVIII of the Norwegian constitution. (See page 340.)

To guard against the possible inference that the incorporation of these Articles of the Norwegian constitution into the federal treaty might change their original nature, the final Article (XII) of the Union Act expressly designates them as mere repetitions and amplifications of the constitutional Articles. They must consequently be interpreted as such without reference to their subsequent adoption by the Swedish Riksdag. The absolute equality of the two kingdoms and their complete independence of each other in all matters not specifically mentioned in the Union Act as being in common was thus clearly indicated, and ample proof exists that it was so acknowledged at the time both by the Swedish Diet and the Administration. And this view the Norwegian people has ever since adhered to unflinchingly during the many bickerings concerning union matters, and the numerous attempts of later years, on the part of a certain faction of the Swedish people, to extend the sphere of the union and to establish a supremacy of Sweden in certain affairs.

VII

WHEN peace was restored, Norway found herself reduced financially and economically to a very low ebb. The protracted wars with England had utterly ruined her merchant marine and her commerce; the war with Sweden had drained her treasure chest to the bottom; the crops failed, the people were fighting off a threatening famine. The dissolution of the union with Denmark threw on her shoulders a large proportion of the enormous public debt. At the same time Metternich and the "holy alliance" headed the European reaction, trying to smother all attempts of the people to assert their liberties and rights. Under such untoward circumstances, Norway, nearly bankrupt, was to make her first steps as an independent nation, was to establish the whole outward apparatus of government. Slowly and deliberately her people went at the task. There were many a right and many an outward attribute of sovereignty, which in the beginning it was found to be imprudent to insist too strongly upon, and which it was considered best under the circumstances to postpone. The maintenance of the political equality, secured on paper by the Union Act, was not always easy for the smaller and weaker country to accomplish, but, while the Norwegians did not at once realize all they thought themselves entitled to, they never gave up an iota of their demands, and, whatever happened, they always formally reserved their rights, even when patiently submitting to their postponement. While Norway was thus unable to carry into immediate execution some of the functions of a sovereign government, the leading class in Sweden profited by this weakness to assume a certain attitude of supremacy towards the outer world, while royalty in Stockholm, likewise spurred on by the European reaction, planned assaults on the liberties secured to the Norwegian people by their constitution. We have shown above (page - footnote), by his own words, that Bernadotte, in 1814, meant to retake later on some of the prerogatives which he was obliged to abandon in order to secure the assent of the Norwegians to the union, and shortly after he became King, in 1818, under the name of Charles XIV. Jean (Carl Johan), the long series of attacks on the Norwegian constitution began, which only the prudent, but determined, resistance of the Norwegian Storting succeeded in frustrating. It even went so far that as the latter in 1821 was ready to pass the bill for the abolition of the nobility the third time over the royal veto, the King actually concentrated Swedish troops and assembled a naval squadron in order to intimidate the representatives of the Norwegian people, though without the desired effect. The Norwegians, then, by doing away with a titled aristocracy, continued on its democratic career, constantly developing and extending the government "of the people, for the people, by the people," much to the disgust and dismay of the Swedish aristocracy, who, to the present day, practically constitute the governing class in Sweden.

I have shown previously how the older history of the two peoples made Sweden a footstool for a powerful aristocracy of strong military antecedents and proclivities, while the Norwegians developed into the most democratic people in Europe. Such were the conditions in 1814, such they are essentially to-day. The Norwegians have strengthened and modernized their democracy by wedding it to European liberalism of the most advanced type, while in Sweden, at present, the reactionary and illiberal aristocracy holds the people in political bondage. Its material privileges have mostly been sacrificed, but its political and social power is hardly shaken, and remain a

curious anachronism in the latter days of the nineteenth century. Not that there are no signs of an awakening among the masses of the Swedish people. There are many liberal-minded men and women preaching the tenets of democracy in Sweden and fighting its preliminary skirmishes. But it can be asserted without serious contradiction that as yet there exists no liberal party, in the commonly accepted sense of the word, in Sweden. So well has the ruling class manœuvred that their position is

scarcely shaken.

In this fight for supremacy in Swedish politics the aristocratic element views the continued progress of the Norwegian democracy with apprehension and hatred. They tremble lest the success of the Norwegian farmer in governing his country in a modern spirit may influence his Swedish brother to take the government into his own hands. They regard the example of the Norwegian democracy as a poison which may infect the Swedish masses and unite them into a formidable political party. It appears to them more advisable to fight this tendency by trying to crush the democracy in Norway rather than to wait for the time when they may have to battle for their class interests and power on Swedish soil. The constant struggle of the Norwegian people for the realization of the political equality and independence secured to them in the Union Act of 1815 has, therefore, been used by the ruling Swedish party as a powerful weapon. By opposing the demands of the Norwegians they posed as the champions of the Swedish The Norwegians were represented as an unruly and rebellious lot, who were constantly trying to overreach the By playing upon the passions of the people, by misrepresenting history, they usually succeeded in so stirring up the Swedish masses against the Norwegians that they forgot their own struggle for freedom, and their own political dependence, in a patriotic stand against a fancied usurpation by their Norwegian neighbor. Whenever the Swedish administration needed a solid majority in the Riksdag, or it became desirable to check a growing inclination towards liberalism among the voters, it was only necessary to stir up the "Norwegian question." In order to have such a Norwegian question it was, therefore, sufficient to systematically oppose any change in the status quo, however much the present conditions might irritate the Norwegians. As a matter of fact, the greater the irritation, the surer could the aristocratically inclined ministry and upper house be of a submissive lower house in the

Riksdag, and the greater the chances for obtaining big mili-

tary appropriations.

Unfortunately the illiberal classes found an ally in royalty. We have already seen that Charles XIV. early began the attempt to extend the royal prerogative in Norway. He did not succeed, but the Norwegian Storting and the Norwegian King have ever since struggled for the supremacy, the last serious battle being fought over the question whether the King, under the constitution, has any veto with regard to constitutional amendments. In this fight for increased power in Norway, the Kings often forgot that they were Kings of Norway as well as of Sweden, and when hard-pressed, he, who ought to have acted exclusively as King of Norway in an exclusively Norwegian affair, called to his assistance the Swedish King and all the power of the latter and of Sweden as well. royalty became closer and closer allied with the aristocratic element in Sweden, and the bitterness and the irritation of the Norwegians increased as they saw their rights denied by their own King, backed by the proud aristocrats on the other side of the boundary. The Norwegians have had the reputation of being an extremely loyal people, but the constant appeal by the King for Swedish help when he thought his own interests in Norwegian politics threatened, and the constant appeal by the Swedish government for the assistance of the King whenever they wanted to keep Norway away from her rights under the Union Act of 1815, has at last undermined their loyalty towards both the King and the union to such an extent that it may utterly collapse some day.

This is, in a nutshell, the cause of the strained relations between Sweden and Norway, which has for many a year threatened the peace between the two peoples. Reduced to its ultimate elements, it is a struggle between superannuated and antiquated ideas of class superiority on the one hand and progressive democratic, or even republican, principles on the other; between reaction and liberalism; between the past and

the future.

A STUDY IN BIOGRAPHY

By GREENOUGH WHITE

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The Life of William Morris. By J. W. Mackail. 2 Vols. Longmans, Green & Co., New York: 1899.

THESE large and handsome volumes, comprising upward of seven hundred pages, are embellished by several interesting illustrations, especially some photogravures of likenesses of their subject at the ages of twenty-three, thirty-seven, forty-one. and fifty-three years, of the lady who became his wife, and of one of his characteristic paintings, Queen Guenevere in her boudoir; and also by woodcuts giving views of his birthplace at Walthamstow and his later homes at Kelmscott and Hammersmith, both without and within, and of the workshops at Merton Abbey. We are thus furnished with glimpses of the hero and his daily environment, and with biographical details so voluminous that they seem to call for selection and compression. We will endeavor, accordingly, to outline and concurrently to interpret a remarkable career in the history of literature and the industrial arts, and, when that is done, will follow out some suggestions afforded by the work as to the art of biographical composition.

Morris is a Welsh name. A family of Ap Morrises, of Welsh descent, belonging to the middle class of British society, had from time immemorial inhabited the upper valley of the river Severn, when, toward the end of the eighteenth century, one of its members dropped the prefix Ap from his surname and settled in business in Worcester. There, in the summer of 1797, a son was born to him whom he named William. When the boy was fully grown, his parents moved to London, and he was entered as a clerk in a firm of discount brokers. "When a little over thirty," he became a partner in the firm, and married "soon after his admission to partnership." Mr. Mackail seems to have some objection, singular in a conscientious biographer, to giving so important a date as that of the

marriage of his hero's parents. "A little over thirty" might be a few months or a few years, and "soon after" that affords a wide margin for conjecture. The marriage took place presumably in the year 1829; the bride was Emma Shelton, daughter of a teacher of music at Worcester, of a family of musical and social culture, with ecclesiastical connections. The Sheltons came of long-lived stock; and the span of Mrs. Morris's life almost included her famous son's, for she lived to see her ninetieth year and the year 1894. After the birth of a second daughter, Mr. Morris took a house in the suburb of Walthamstow, in full view of Epping Forest, and there, on the 24th of March, 1834, his eldest son and namesake, the subject of our memoir, was born. Nine children in all, five boys and four girls, were the fruit of this union. The little William was a delicate child, and correspondingly precocious; he learned to read almost as soon as he could talk, and at the age of four was deep in the Waverley romances, which he finished when he was seven years old. He had a way of devouring a book, and was blessed with an extraordinarily retentive memory. The wizard of the north, that weaver of dazzling spells and master of supernatural and chivalric illusion, was the boy's earliest and most potent teacher: we can picture him a mere infant, hanging breathless over The Talisman or Quentin Durward, his curls brushing the page as he read, and, when the tale was finished, moving about for days in a waking dream. It is impossible to overestimate the determining influence of such an education of heart and imagination, the deep and permanent impression produced and the bent given to genius by reading like that at such a tender age. But we must also recognize a predisposition: the seed sown by Walter Scott fell upon congenial soil. The child's parents were born in the heyday of the evangelical movement in the Church of England, and were narrowly loyal to that school of religious thought; while he first saw the light in the dawn of the Oxford movement, and as he grew up, his militant Anglicanism adds a fresh illustration to the stock of those who love to theorize about congenital influences, and to trace impressions made by the spirit of an age upon an embryo soul. The movement led by John Henry Newman, by its insistence upon the supernatural, its æsthetic potentialities, and even its ascetic tendencies, appealed to the young Morris strongly, while its contempt of the world, from the religious point of view, was reflected all his life long in his precisely similar sentiment, from the æsthetic.

The deepest antenatal influence, however, was his Welsh blood. He was a Morris all over, in temperament and pristine delicacy of constitution; his mother, unhappily, failed to transmit to him the longevity of his Shelton ancestry, though he may have inherited from her somewhat of his appreciation of This Celtic strain is sufficient by itself to intrepret his nature and career; his emotional and imaginative psychology, impulsiveness, quaint humor, and love of strange beauty and of picturesque story-telling, in verse and prose,—his inspired eye for color, and passionate response to the enchantments of nature, in sunshine and moonlight, wind and water, flower and leaf,—are all Celtic traits or gifts; and one cannot help recalling that the weaving of textiles, which had such a charm for him, was a preëminent Celtic art. William Morris was born to revive this precious element in British civilization; to introduce afresh into English literature the romantic glamor, and into household art the refined and subtle sense of beauty of the Celt. It were as though the soul of some forgotten Welsh ancestor, warrior and bard, welled up in him, after the lapse of generations.

When he was six years of age, his father, who had prospered greatly in business, moved his growing family into a finer house on the very outskirts of another part of Epping Forest, from which the park surrounding the mansion was separated only by One side of the estate was swept by a stream; and dabbling in it, playing at gardening with his brothers and sisters, and wandering or riding his Shetland pony through the adjacent forest, the lad took a firmer hold on life, and gradually developed muscular strength beyond the ordinary. The forest, in fact, completed his boyish education; amid its holly thickets, groves of great beech trees, and wonderful wood of horn beams, he became proficient in the lore of birds and all wild things. Welsh ancestry, Walter Scott, Epping Forest,—these are the forces with which we have to reckon, and the last not least. The genius of the forest, with its dappled light, haunting shadows and stillness, and labyrinthian glades, is mystery, an enticing mystery that forever retreats as one advances, seducing him into its tangled depths in the vain hope of plucking out its This sylvan magic, this witchery of the woodland, took undying possession of the young Morris's soul, keeping it fresh and sensitive to the wonder of the world, the hidden meaning of things, the touch of the invisible.

A tour that he made with his father to Canterbury and among the old churches of Kent was a revelation of the glories of Gothic architecture to the boy of eight years. An affection for things mediæval was innate in him,—for the traceries and moldings and painted glass of ancient chapels, and the effigies on Gothic tombs and monumental brasses that they contained. We can imagine what an incentive to the study of heraldry it must have been, when in 1843, the year after this excursion, his father obtained a coat of arms: an argent horse's head between three golden horse-shoes, on an azure field. In the boy's ardent imagination, the emblem of the White Horse

became mystically connected with his career.

In 1847 his father died, at the age of fifty years, leaving an ample fortune; the family moved into another house, and Morris was sent to a school for boys that had just been started, under high churchly auspices, in the west of England. Here he continued his omnivorous reading, along antiquarian lines, and indulged in lonely rambles in a neighboring wood and to some Druidical remains. His schoolmates inevitably thought him queer, while they valued him for his inexhaustible faculty for weaving marvelous tales, and liked him for his good nature and generosity, checkered though these were by fits of fiery temper, which, with his exceptional strength, ensured him wholesome respect. While he was in his third year at the school, his eldest and favorite sister married a clergyman of high Anglican type; and this was one of the strongest influences that determined him to seek the Ministry of the Church. He lest school at Christmastide of the year 1851, being then upward of seventeen years of age, with a taste for ecclesiastical music, generated by the beautiful choral services that were a feature of the institution, and, in general, with Catholic tastes and tendencies. His natural destination was Oxford, but as he was insufficiently prepared in the classics, he read for a year with a clerical tutor of the Oxford stamp of churchmanship, and went up to the university in the midwinter of 1853, entering Exeter College.

So began three years and a half of life amid the towers and bells of that educational capital, the source of one religious movement after another, matchless in all the world for its wealth of collegiate Gothic architecture. The use of college is to help a young man to find out his life-work; and the process in our hero's case, as he felt his way amid conflicting influences, or, rather, followed enthusiastically one opening after another, is exceedingly interesting. Before he had been a week at the university he struck up a life-long friendship with Edward

Burne-Jones, who also intended to take holy orders, and the two read Church history together and the Tracts for the Times and lives of the saints with such avidity that they found themselves erelong on the extreme verge of Anglo-Catholicism, and were sorely tempted to take the one step more that would land them on the Roman side of the line; Morris actually dreamed of devoting all his means to the foundation of a A long vacation tour through Flanders and monastery! Normandy, in the summer of 1854, in the course of which he was captivated by the mediæval charms of Rouen, contributed to form this resolution; but before the end of the year the reaction had set in that drew him away from Rome and finally from the ministry. Poetry and art had long been struggling with theology for the mastery of his soul, and now, reinforced by the enchanting strains of Ruskin's eloquence, they won a definitive victory. Burne-Jones was a devotee of Keats and Shakespeare, and introduced his friend to the sombre splendors of Norse mythology; and in the year 1855 they discovered Chaucer, which to Morris was like finding himself under the inspiration of the free and spiritually suggestive verse of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, he ventured, that year, upon his first essays in poetical composition. Curiously enough, a second tour in Normandy, mostly afoot, completed his conversion, and the two friends swore henceforth to follow art, Morris proving faithful to his old-time love, architecture. To his family it seemed like apostasy; his mother and sisters were puzzled and distressed by the change, and in many who judged him superficially, it created a suspicion of his stability; but actually it was providential, a coming to himself, an act of temperamental adjustment; he followed the leadings of his nature, and his genius was not lost to the world. Happy youth, to discover, so soon after he had attained his majority, for what he was born! Literature and architecture were the twin passions of his life; poetical and prose romance and ultimately the external form of books as well as their contents, even such matters as type, margin, binding, and design of cover; while, although he never practiced building, his comprehensive knowledge of architecture gave him command of its dependent arts, a centre from which to radiate outward, a grasp upon problems of interior decoration, wall hangings, and the glazing of windows, and covering of floors. His apparent mutability was the versatility of power, the variety in unity of genius. It often happens that in early youth the

vision is granted in the light of which the whole after life is to be led,—that then the ideal rises of which the later career is but the gradual and patient fulfilment:

The thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.

At this turning-point in his history, the reader would doubtless like to have a glimpse of his physical aspect. His figure was slender and not above the average height. He had a fine head, fit to serve as a model, said his friend Burne-Jones, for Launcelot's or Tristram's. It was covered with a mop of dark, curly hair, which, with his generally untidy appearance, like that of another great innovator in art, the Florentine Masaccio, won him from his mates the nickname, "Topsy." His eyes were hazel, inexpressive, yet keenly observant; his lips and chin delicate, but firm,—altogether a striking face, with much beauty in it. He was always careless about dress; we hear mention, at this time, of a sensational manifesto of romanticism in the shape of a pair of purple trousers with which he startled the citizens of academic Oxford.

By the beginning of the year 1856 he was at work in the office of George Edmund Street, the architect, and was enraptured by Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, a copy of which he had just bought. Chaucer and Malory became his masters respectively in poetical and prose romance; and when we add to them the old Norse legends of which he became more and more enamored, we have the threefold root of his literary

production.

At the end of the ensuing summer, Street moved his office from Oxford to London, and this brought Morris, who accompanied him, within the magic circle of Rossetti's influence. To Rossetti, the whole world was divisible into two classes, those who ought to paint, and those who ought to buy pictures; and he resolved that Morris belonged to the former group. His extraordinary genius acted like sorcery upon younger men of undisciplined wills, and for a time our hero's course was deflected by it. His family were in despair; an architect had a certain position in society, but they regarded an artist's life as not quite respectable. Prophets of evil quoted Scripture at him: "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." But certainly he had something to learn from Rossetti, and the year spent in painting under his direction was not thrown away. He was young and could afford it, and the experience contributed an element to his culture. He painted a few oil pictures, and one of the famous, but now almost obliterated, "frescoes" on the wall of the Union Library at Oxford. There and then he met his fate in the person of a Miss Jane Burden, of the type of beauty that Rossetti ardently admired, and in the spring of 1858, just at the time when he struck an æsthetic note, new to English poetry, in his Defence of Guenevere, and Other Poems, they became engaged, and, the following spring, were married.

Morris was then twenty-five years of age. He was out of the rapids, and the current of his life, which had been or seemed to be troubled and turbid, and sucked into many a sidelong eddy, now cleared and ran on smoothly. The ensuing five years, his biographer writes, were probably the happiest of his life, passed as they were in happy wedlock, signalized by the birth of his two children, both daughters, in a pleasant house in the country, which he loved so passionately, his working days employed in thoroughly congenial business in the neighboring city. The last eighteen months of his bachelor life had been spent, when not in Oxford, in lodgings in London, on Red Lion Square, which he had taken unfurnished; and to this last simple fact his biographer ascribes the final practical direction given to his talent. He felt the constraining necessity of surroundings harmonious with his temperament, but when he set about furnishing his rooms, could not find a single object to his mind. House furniture in England had reached the lowest depth of commonness and ugliness, and so Morris had to have his made to order, according to his own designs. And when he came to furnish the house that he built to his taste near the village of Upton, ten miles south of London, the problem and its solution were repeated. This experience . was the motive of the organization, in the spring of 1861, of the firm of decorators that went by his name, in which Burne-Jones, Rossetti, and Ford Madox Brown were partners, and which ultimately wrought a revolution in domestic interiors.

At first the firm had to depend for support upon ecclesiastical decoration, in the way of wall painting and the fabrication of stained glass windows, tiles, and embroideries,—for the Oxford movement was just then passing into its second or ritualistic and æsthetic stage. Morris's old preceptor, Street, was helpful in putting commissions in his way. By the year 1864 the business had so developed as to demand his continual presence, and it became apparent that he would have to settle in London. The disadvantage of living at a distance was pointed by a severe and ominous attack of rheumatic fever, contracted

through a wetting he underwent while traveling between his house and place of business. It was a sad wrench to his feelings to have to leave his beloved country home, the very garden of which he had planned; for he held that, in his own picturesque figure, a garden should be to a house as clothes to a bodyit should fit. But the step had to be taken, and late in the autumn of 1865 he moved into an old house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury,-large enough with its outbuildings for both his family and the needs of his business. The succeeding lustrum was marked by steady progress and success in manufacture, and was uneventful save for the publication, in 1867, of The Life and Death of Jason, which had grown out of a tale designed for The Earthly Paradise, and by the appearance of the latter work, in four parts, between the years 1868 and 1870. These poems reveal Morris's truly wonderful gift of story-telling, and are full of beauties, but most of the tales were written with the rapidity of improvisation, and the result is literature for a leisure class, linked sweetness long drawn out, without significance for the strenuous and thoughtful modern world, which has not time to spare for volumes upon volumes of verse by an "idle singer of an empty day."

The year 1871 was marked by two important events in our poet's history,—his return to the country, and his voyage to Iceland. He felt stifled after six years of life in the metropolis, and put one hundred and thirty miles of stream between him and it by taking a lease of the many-gabled manor house of Kelmscott, on the bank of the Thames, in the upper part of its valley. He was as jubilant as a boy over the discovery of a place so wholly after his heart; it could not have delighted him more if he himself had built the house and laid out its garden. He spent all the time he could there for the rest of his days, and it contributed incalculably to his enjoyment of life.

During the years of publication of *The Earthly Paradise*, he had been absorbed in the study of Icelandic. The heroic legends in that language seemed to him the greatest in the world, and he looked forward with positive excitement to viewing the scene of their composition. He was not disappointed; the dark and terrible mountains, streaked with snow and crowned with clouds, of that volcanic and frost-bitten island; the spongy meadows and wild gorges at their feet; the flights of wild swans, the strangeness of the fauna and flora, and the savage desolation of the scenery, brooded over by historic associations, interested and impressed him overwhelmingly. In the

summer of 1873 he revisited the island; and out of these studies and travels there issued what he regarded as his greatest work,—his version of the epic story of Sigurd the Volsung.

In the last-mentioned year he saw Italy for the first time. His widest wanderings were begun when he was in middle life, and had attained two years of masterdom—thus reversing Wilhelm Meister's order. It sounds absurd to say it, but Morris did not care for Italy; there was a certain perverseness in his attitude: he went with the determination not to enjoy it; and so even the charms of Tuscany elicited little response. Yet with this tour we may associate his version of the Æneid, which came out two years after, by which he reclaimed Virgil for romanticism, and revealed the mode of his appeal to the mind

of the Middle Ages.

In 1876 was published The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs. There was in Morris's make-up something of the viking and his berserker rage; and this tale of heroes and their wonderful adventures, of the love and vengeance of women, of slaughter, fate, and flame, was written by him with an enjoyment that communicates itself to the reader. It is undeniably interesting, and yet it proved a failure at the time of its appearance. The reason is not hard to find: people think twice before beginning a modern epic narrative, consisting of more than ten thousand long lines of verse, upon a barbaric theme. Its utter remoteness from modern sentiment may perhaps be best illustrated by the flat and childish manner in which magic is introduced in it to neutralize the effect of magic.

One of Morris's bye-interests in these years was illumination, which he executed upon manuscripts written with his own hand, with exquisite care and skill. Centuries before, he would have been perfectly happy to labor all his life as a monastic scribe in the scriptorium of some old abbey. Meantime his business was flourishing; while writing Sigurd he was deep in the mysteries of dyeing, and went about all day in a workingman's blouse, his hands generally dyed blue. About the year 1878, when he took the house at Hammersmith that is associated with the last period of his life, the weaving of carpets and tapestry began to be his leading interest. There is no doubt that in his character we see reflected the best type of a mediæval craftsman. Doing his handiwork with eager pleasure and an enthusiasm akin to religion, and hence producing art. The assured position that he had attained will be readily understood from the fact that in 1881 he was commissioned to carry out an extensive scheme of decoration at St. James's Palace, including designs for paper hangings for the walls of the grand staircase and hangings of damask for the throne and reception rooms. We are not surprised to hear that, immediately after, he had to seek more spacious quarters for his rapidly extending business, which he found at Merton, seven miles from Charing Cross, in some buildings on the site of a vanished abbey, which he converted into workshops for glass-painting, dyeing, weaving, and the printing of chintzes.

Meantime, in the very culmination of success and fame, a domestic calamity and an attack of ill health cast shadows. mental and physical, over his path that were never wholly lifted. His eldest daughter became an invalid, and her condition was ever afterward a weight of anxiety upon his mind; while in the spring of 1878 he had a severe seizure of rheumatic gout-a premonitory symptom, doubtless (would that it had been heeded or understood!), of the deep-seated organic malady or morbid chemistry of the blood that was destined to shorten his days. He was never again quite as strong and well as before that attack. And now we reach the seemingly strange development in his history that convinced superficial observers that he was eccentric to the confines of irrationality, and that afflicted his elders in the family poignantly, as a fresh departure from respectability: his connection with the socialist movement.

It is no wonder that this step seemed like a deliberate turning of the back upon his business at the moment of its highest prosperity, or that people laughed at the glaring inconsistency of a capitalist, a wealthy manufacturer and employer of labor, lavishing his means in the attempt to persuade them to make all rich men poor, so that they might "rub out from their dictionaries altogether these dreadful words rich and poor." To understand the apparent anomaly, we must begin by recognizing the fact, which his socialism first brought out prominently, that Morris had an active, passionate, and positively rebellious sympathy with the oppressed—truly a noble sentiment, never to be neglected in forming an estimate of his character. Underlying this is the fact that his very nature was democratic, affording a fresh and striking illustration of the inherent democracy of romanticism. The classical spirit is aristocratic, conventional, the romantic, revolutionary—as the life of Shelley illuminatingly witnesses. The middle ages, Morris's favorite period, were rife with democratic ideals and activities - witness the communal movement in France just before and during the great era of Gothic architecture—the time of all times to him. Considerations such as these help to remove the sense of inconsistency in his case; and, finally, it is not fanciful to connect his socialism with his interest in architecture and beautiful furniture, for the ground of it all was his conviction that people ought to inhabit better houses. Upon long observation and experience there came like a revelation the momentous truth that great art must rest upon broad popular basis; that noble architecture and, in general, great national art can not arise while society is divided into a narrow circle of vulgar wealth and a weltering mass of brutalized poverty. His lofty ideal was nothing short of the humanization of both classes, that is, of social life, beginning with some amelioration of the sordid conditions of the desperately poor; and for four years he spent himself, his means, his time, his strength, in its service, undeterred by sneers at the "socialist poet-upholsterer." It was the noblest passage in his career. The queer company into which it threw him, the wild enthusiasts and selfish schemers, and the follies and insults he had to suffer, proved a school of human nature and the management of temper. His friends noticed that from that time his spirit grew gentler, more thoughtful, and conciliatory.

The years 1883 to 1886, during which he was absorbed in his socialist propaganda, were almost a blank in his literary production; and the beginning of the relaxation of that tense political strain was marked by his version of the Odyssey, which appeared in two parts in 1887, and by his return to romance in the charming *Dream of John Ball*. This was the first of a series of prose tales for grown-up children. The House of the Wolfings, The Roots of the Mountains, The Wood Beyond the World, and half a dozen others, which he poured forth in swift succession in the last decade of his life, and which form, in their quaint wording and imaginative beauty,

a unique contribution to literature.

It was this series of publications that turned his attention to typography and book-making, in the first age of which he found his ideal, and thus ushered in the last phase of his industrial activity, signalized by the founding of the famous Kelmscott Press in the winter of 1891. Within a month of its establishment, he was crippled by a fresh attack of rheumatic gout, accompanied by diabetic symptoms; and from that time, though by virtue of a strict regimen he enjoyed for a few years a fair

degree of health, his strength ebbed steadily away. Knowledge that his death warrant was signed did not repress flashes of his old humor like the following, in a letter written within a year of the end: "The doctor called on Monday, and told me it was good for me not to be victimized by bores, and that I had better not be: this seems to me such very good advice that I pass it on to you; but am just struck with fear that you may begin the practice of it on me."

The chief anxiety of the three closing years was the great Kelmscott edition of *Chaucer*, with nearly a hundred illustrations by Burne-Jones, and the dominant interest, a collection of illuminated manuscripts. It is pathetic to mark his eager grasping at these (he paid a thousand pounds sterling for a thirteenth

century Psalter) while his hold on life was relaxing.

The pathos of an Indian summer hung about his end. He had experience of the depth of meaning of the petition in the litany against sudden death: his disease gave him time for a gradual and conscious leave-taking of the world, a lingering farewell to the scenes that he had loved. In the winter of 1894 his mother died. The ensuing spring he bade good-bye to Northern France, in a tour that revived vacation memories of forty years before. In 1895, he spent a long May day in Epping Forest, every foot of which he remembered from a boy. Early in 1896, it became evident that he had not many months to live. He lost sleep and flesh, and his weakness, with its accompanying restlessness, constantly increased. In June he had the satisfaction of handling the first copy of the Kelmscott Chaucer, fresh from the press-but the Morte d'Arthur, which was to have been yet greater, had existence only in his mind. The next month he was induced to make a trip to Norway, which he was feeling too badly to enjoy; and immediately after his return, congestion of the left lung set in. He lingered on, tenderly cared for, but in piteous weakness through the month of September, and passed away at his home in Hammersmith at noontide of the 3d of October, in the sixtythird year of his age. He was buried at Kelmscott.

So died a knight of the beautiful, without fear and without reproach. In the service of beauty he did the work of seven men, or at least kinds of work enough to make so many men distinguished. His career was a most important factor in the mediæval renascence, and knowledge of it is necessary not only to an understanding of English civilization but of the

nineteenth century as well.

At the risk of seeming ungracious toward such a splendid personality and a memoir above the average in merit, we shall conclude with a summary of the most conspicuous limitations of our hero and his biographer. In the intimate self-revelation of a diary, Morris confessed that he loathed all classical art and literature. This outburst from one who translated the Odyssey and the Æneid must obviously be taken with several qualifications; but the fact remains that to the glories of Hellenic architecture and sculpture he was blind. This remarkable limitation in regard to a superlative figure art has an instructive corollary in his insuperable inability to draw the human figure, which put a speedy term to his experiments in painting. interest in history sprang up with the incursions of the barbarians and the downfall of the Western Empire; from that source it slowly trickled on to the thirteenth century, when it suddenly swelled and rose to its height. After that it steadily sank, and was completely dried up before the age of the Protestant Reformation. Within these limits, so narrow in time, his interest was equally circumscribed in space. It was bounded on the South by the Alps (we know how he felt toward Italy: he called Italian art "an enemy"), and with the exception of France, his sympathies and antipathies were narrowly insular. The Scottish border bounded his affections on the north: "I can't bring myself to love that country," he wrote of Scotland, "'tis so raw-boned." England and France in the thirteenth century, shading off in the fourteenth and fifteenth,-a narrow field, but he worked it well. Against modern times his prejudice rapidly mounted; he disliked the seventeenth century (Milton, we are told, was his special aversion, and he was never weary of abusing him, - naturally enough, for classicism and Puritanism were the two things he chiefly despised); toward the eighteenth, his sentiment rose to loathing, and toward his own century to positive profanity: "I half wish that I had not been born with a sense of romance and beauty," he burst out, "in this accursed age." He disliked Wordsworth, and betrayed his own psychological deficiency by calling Coleridge "a muddle-brained metaphysician, tainted with Wordsworthianism." He ranted against railroads, and professed utter detestation of Wagner and all his works. Even against his own language he railed, denouncing modern English as "a wretched mongrel jargon" (doubtless in view of the many Greek and Latin derivatives in it) - and we are almost inclined to agree with him when we find him writing about "a place so different to anything one had ever imagined," or using the expression, "like a plant grows," and again: "it has worn better than I expected, but still not like stuff made for it would do." His passionate objurgations were plentifully interspersed with the terms "damn" and "devil," and he was capable of phenomenal rudeness, even to women, while piquing himself, by a not uncommon inconsistency, upon his politeness. He was swayed by some of those petty aversions to particular words that are survivals of childishness in any mature mind: thus he abhorred the word "literature." He had an undiscriminating contempt for prefaces. Hatred of mirrors was another of his queer foibles, and he would never have any about him,—possibly because they revealed such a shock of unkempt hair whenever they caught his eye.

All these violent and irrational prejudices and antipathies, great and little, are pitiful weaknesses in a grown man, and it is a man's intellectual and moral duty to overcome and outgrow them, for they become more rabid and enslaving in age. Morris's pessimistic grumbling about his times grows wearisome at last; it is doubtless the privilege of ethical and æsthetic reformers like him and his masters, Carlyle and Ruskin, to go on cursing their day; but the habit certainly impairs their effectiveness, and tends to mere anile scolding. It is a manlier part to hold one's tongue and make the best of things, bettering them as one may. Morris came to the conclusion that the whole basis of society was incurably vicious,—and that way madness lies. In passion and imagination was his strength; when he tried to reflect he was a child.

It is a thankless task, pointing out imperfections, but in the interest of truth and honesty it has to be done. It is ethical, if not pleasant. And we do not doubt that the reader will justify the procedure; that he will recognize the fact that a few sharp strokes like these give sudden definition to a figure, and make it start out in strong relief from a previously obscure ground,—that they help him to realize, to comprehend a character, that is, to see all round it. And surely one who had

no limitations would be a monster, not a man.

It has been said that great men demand three biographies, one sympathetic, by a relative or friend and admirer, another critical or even hostile, and a third historical, composed years after the foregoing and combining the truth of both. We maintain that in the present philosophical age of the world, a biographer should endeavor to forestall other memoirs, to

obviate the necessity of their production by aiming at once at the final ideal; to be in person both admirer and devil's advocate, and so to transcend the antithesis of uncritical enthusiasm and disparaging criticism, and arrive straightway at an historical synthesis. According to this conception, the function of the family of the deceased would be to furnish the approved biographer with all the documentary material and oral information that they possessed and that he asked for; for it is impossible for a blood relation to write an historical biography. When we apply the above exacting condition to Mr. Mackail's volumes, we find that they fulfil it well; we cannot believe that another life of Morris will ever be needed. The present one, it is true, leaves much to be desired. The problem of heredity, for example, is merely touched on: we still want to know which of his parents Morris resembled, in physique, feature, expression, and interior qualities. We feel the need of feminine collaboration: we are left in the dark about a multitude of little facts that add immensely to one's power of forming an idea of a man. Thus, his home life is practically a blank, — and what a blank that is! With a single, momentary exception, we are told nothing about his numerous brothers and sisters and his relations with them. Little more is said about his wedded life or his relations with his children. Mr. Mackail appears to have been in bondage to a very narrow idea of the use of correspondence; he speaks in one place of private letters not meant for the public eye. Naturally · not; and even if the contradiction can be overlooked of private letters meant for the public eye, such epistles would probably be worthless. We wish that he had quoted from those he had; it seems unlikely that any light he could have thrown upon the above-mentioned relations would do anything but make his subject more interesting, and strengthen his appeal to our sympathy and affection.

In the case of such a democrat as Morris, it might justly have been expected that his biographer would not be superior

to telling us how he treated his servants.

The evil of silence upon all these points is that it gives un-

limited room for misgiving and unfair conjecture.

We learn that he was a smoker, that he had wine with his meals as a matter of course, and that he was particularly fond of angling; but the want of the feminine touch is felt in the lack of other details about his tastes, habits, amusements, and daily course of life.

We pass to another indictment,—the omission of information about our hero's religion: extraordinary in treating of one who in his youth was destined for the ministry. There is no mention of his confirmation, though that is an event in spiritual life, and one that in general deeply influences a nation like his. We are left wholly to imagination in regard to his relation to the established church. What did he think of it? Did he cease to be a communicant in it, and if so, why and when? To these important questions there is no reply. Nor is the quite legitimate desire granted to know how he spent his Sundays. We hear casual mention of Sunday mornings passed in the woods or in reading poetry to Burne-Jones, but not a word about attendance on public worship, continual absence from which would render rather inconsistent, empty, and ridiculous his enthusiasm, of which we have abundant record, over the painted windows, etc. of old churches that he went to visit on week days.

A professed biography that ignores its subject's domestic and religious life is like a description of Paris that should omit all mention of Notre Dame, or an attempt to enact *Hamlet*

with Hamlet and Ophelia left out.

This deficiency culminates and is glaringly exposed at a point where inadequacy is catastrophic and unpardonable,—in a weak ending, than which there is no more pitiable anticlimax. The critical point in a biography is its conclusion,—and lame and impotent is any that rounds off a human life without spiritual suggestion. After the hero's death and burial, moreover, an end can hardly be made too soon. In the present instance, one is moved by the account of Morris's last days and death,—but all sentiment evaporates or is repressed and chilled by the fifteen long pages of mostly ill-timed and disconnected impressions and reflections that ensue, winding down into a frigid bathos of classical quotation, artificial wording, and positive philosophy.

This disappointing, pagan stoical conclusion brings us to the author's most apparent limitation: he reveals himself, from dedication to epilogue, as a classicist—and classicism was a serious disqualification for writing the life of a great romanticist. All through the work one is aware of a want of sympathetic familiarity with the period in which his subject was most at home, with consequent lack of appreciation of significant points, and poverty of interpretation. He is continually skimming over depths without knowing it. What comprehen-

sive knowledge a biographical expert ought to possess. There is truth in the paradoxical saying that an author's personality is more important than that of his subject,—that it makes more difference who writes a life than about whom it is written.

The statement made above, that no future biography of Morris is needed, needs itself a qualifying clause; for his just fame, a life less than half the length of this is undoubtedly necessary. There seems to be a correspondence between the diffuseness of the biography and its hero's style. Much otiose matter is introduced into it; there are far too many word pictures, especially in the chapter on his voyage to Iceland; and the treatment of the socialistic phase of his activity, spun out through several chapters, is out of all proportion to its relative importance. We wish that Mr. Mackail had practiced a little classical compression; we do not hesitate to venture the paradox, that he could have told us more, and to the point, in half the space, that is, in one volume.

It is a canon of biographical composition that the actual sequence of events should be observed. The historical is the natural and also the artistic order, and to depart from it, skipping back and forth, to and fro, confounding times and places, shows a tyro's hand. This, we regret to say, Mr. Mackail too often does, notably at the very outset, where he introduces his hero, and then drops him to go back a century and pick up the thread of his ancestry.

A conspicuous rhetorical blemish appears on the first page of the second volume. It is a question whether even a paragraph should begin with the conjunction "but"; but here not only a chapter but actually a volume is made to begin with the ugly little connective, made all the more conspicuous by its dress of capitals. Any who will, may verify by experiment the decided improvement wrought by dropping that particle.

The foregoing strictures are designed solely to call attention to the neglected art of biographical composition. Its practice at present seems utterly licentious; writers put in and leave out what they please, in whatever order they please; and a noble department of literature is thereby brought into contempt. We must repeat, however, what we said before beginning our criticisms: that Mr. Mackail's effort is above the average in merit. He has added a fresh name to our list of friends. He makes us feel that we know his man, that we would like to have known him in the flesh and that we would like to know more of him—and that is the supreme test of a biography.

HENRY'S PLACE IN THE TELEGRAPH OF ENGLAND

By MARY A. HENRY

EARLY in the year 1837, a packet ship was crossing the ocean from New York to Liverpool. One of her passengers quickly became a centre of attraction and interest to all on board. This was Professor Henry. He was at that time holding a professorship in the College of New Jersey, and was taking a vacation of a year to visit the great scientific men and institutions of the Old World. His appearance was well calculated to excite attention; he was now in his third decade, very nearly six feet in height, and well developed. His hair was of a rich brown and shadowed a broad, white, pure forehead, beneath which shone his blue eyes, full of fire, yet clear and frank in their gaze as those of a child - the windows of a soul which never had anything ugly to hide. His regular features, fresh and clear complexion, and, above all, his mouth, where firmness and power combined with unusual sensibility and sweetness to show, as in a clear glass, the character of the man—one who could inspire the deepest affection, and yet one to be feared when aroused to indignation by wrong-doing. Little children called him by his surname as if it were his Christian name, and claimed him as a companion. Full of intellectual energy, with active step he moved about the vessel, entering with quick, sympathetic interest into the avocations of all about him, imparting and gaining information from captain, officers, fellow-passengers, and even the humblest of the crew, winning

[The following is from a memoir by Latimer Clark, F. R. S., contained in a volume of extracts from the letters of Sir William Fothergill Cooke, published by the Institution of Electrical Engineers, in London and New York, 1895:

From these letters, it is sufficiently evident that the American telegraph grew out of the efforts of the Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone, and other European telegraphers, and that there is no ground for that claim of priority which it has sometimes been endeavored to set up. (Page 91.)

Professor Henry, who had called on Wheatstone in England, and seen his telegraphs, had returned to America, and held frequent consultations with Professor Morse at Princeton. (Page 90.)]

general affection from all. The interest he inspired was not due to his personal qualities alone; to wile away some of the tedious hours of the voyage, he improvised and exhibited in the cabin of the vessel some brilliant electrical experiments; forming the apparatus required of odd bits of iron, copper, zinc, and wire, found on the vessel. Several years after, when he visited the ship, the captain unlocked a small closet and showed him these articles carefully preserved.

Henry enjoyed the voyage; unusually sensitive to æsthetical influences, he enjoyed the beauty of the sea; with rhythmic descriptions of whose changing scene the poets had well stored his memory, and, above all, he was interested in its natural phenomena, braving one night the dangers of a violent thunderstorm to study the cause of the balls of fire which were topping the mast and rolling over the deck—an incident which later formed the subject of one of his papers.

Henry's visit to London was to prove of great importance to the telegraphic interests in England.

To make clear in what way, I must give a few facts concerning Henry's early life in the old Academy of Albany, where were discovered the principles of the telegraph.*

When Henry, in 1828, commenced his investigations, the electro-magnetic telegraph was an impossibility. The magnets which constitute it were not in existence. The only electro-magnet in the world was a toy made by Sturgeon, of England. It consisted of an iron bar with a wire wound loosely around it in a few turns with the spirals far apart; with a very large battery it lifted only a few pounds, and it possessed no power whatever for action at a distance. The idea of transmitting intelligence by means of the electrical current was an old one at this time; with every new discovery in electrical science, from the time of Franklin down, new efforts had been made in this direction, but each one had, sooner or later, encountered the same difficulty, the failure of the electrical force with any great extent of the conducting wire. The Sturgeon magnet was made in 1825. Barlow (also of England) tried the telegraph experiment with it, but only to meet with the old difficulty, the failure of electrical force.

Henry, a mere youth, took up the disappointing instrument and before the close of 1830 there stood in his room the mag-

^{*}See The Conservative Review for May, 1899, "New Systems of Telegraphy" — Ames.

nets of the telegraph. The one, formed of a long, fine, continuous wire, which in the long circuits of the telegraph responds to electrical influence through thousands of miles; * the other, formed of many coils of thick wire, not capable of distant action, but stronger—the magnet of the short local circuit of the telegraph.† This last magnet was stronger than was necessary for merely telegraphic purposes, it could lift thousands of pounds. The powerful magnets of to-day are but repetitions of it. The discovery of the necessary connection of each magnet with its own especial battery was the discovery by Henry of the necessary law of proportion between the projectile force in the battery and the resistance of wire circuit and magnet.

His magnets made, Henry wound around his room in the Academy a long wire. In the circuit of this he placed his sensitive intensity magnet and its especial battery. Between the arms of the magnet he set one end of an iron bar, trembling on a pivot; when the magnet was excited by the closing of the circuit, this end of the bar was attracted to one side and the other end hit a bell. This arrangement was the first electromagnetic telegraph—the first telegraph in which there was no fear of the failure of the electrical force with extension of the wire. The wire was only a mile long, but this was sufficient to show Henry principles by which it has since been stretched around the world.

In 1832 Henry went to Princeton. Here he stretched his wires across the College grounds and held communication with his wife, between his residence and the Philosophical Hall. And here he made his intensity magnet—when excited by distant influence—open and close the circuit of his quantity magnet, making it lift and drop its heavy weights, and showing how it also could be brought into action at a distance. This device of opening one circuit by means of another is used in the relay of the telegraph and for bringing the local circuit into play. When Henry had invented it, the telegraph was complete, and now, as he is crossing the sea, has been for five years quite ready to be taken from those quiet grounds and sent out into the wide world to do its work.

We now return to the year 1837, and to Henry—his voyage ended, walking the streets of London. In this very month,

^{*}This Henry named an intensity magnet, because to bring it into action a battery of many plates, called an intensity battery, was required.
†This Henry called a quantity magnet, because it required a battery of a single pair of plates, which is known as a quantity battery.

that is the month of March, 1837, and in this very city of London, two men were struggling with a project of the telegraph. They have come to the old difficulty of the failure of the electrical force with extension of the wire conductor. They cannot

make the electro-magnet work at a distance.

We must go back to the philosopher Oested for the beginning of this project, and to the little needle, which, in his lecture room, sprang to place itself at right angles with a wire which was stretched above it, and through which a galvanic current was passing. The brilliant Ampère saw in it immediately a new mode of attacking the old question of how electricity could be used as a means of distant communication. He thought that the needle could be made to move at a distance, as on Oested's table, by increasing the length of the wire through which the electrical current was passing; that by means of as many wires and as many needles as there are letters in the alphabet, a battery at a distance might be made to spell out words by exciting the electric current, now in one wire, now in another, to make the facile corresponding needle point out its letter. Baron Paul Schilling was the first to take up practically Ampère's suggestion. His experiments excited great curiosity in St. Petersburg; both the Tsars, Alexander and Nicholas, taking deep interest in it. In the year 1835, Schilling, with improved instruments went westward. There was that year, on the banks of the Rhine at Bonn, a great meeting of scientific men. presiding officer of this concourse was Professor Müncke, of Heidelberg. Baron Schilling exhibited his apparatus to the learned body, and so deeply was Professor Müncke interested in it that, on his return to Heidelberg, he caused a similar apparatus to be made and experimented with it before his class. The death of Baron Schilling put an end to any further improvement he might have made in his telegraph; but now comes our interest in it, in connection with Great Britian. Among the young men who witnessed the experiments with it, in Professor Müncke's lecture room in 1836, was a young English officer, William Fothergill Cooke. He says, "Mr. Müncke's experiment was, at that time, the only one upon the subject I had ever seen or heard It showed that electrical currents, being conveyed by wires to a distance, could be there caused to deflect magnetic needles and thereby give signals. It was, in a word, a hint at the application of electricity to telegraphic purposes, but nothing more, for it provided no means of applying the power to telegraphic uses. Within three weeks after the day on

which I saw the experiment, I had made, partly at Heidelberg and partly at Frankfort, my first electric telegraph." This telegraph consisted of six wires, forming three metallic circuits, acting upon three needles, by the combined movements of which he worked out an alphabet of twenty-six signals. "The needles moved horizontally, each needle having two movements and three positions, namely, at rest and a right hand and left hand deflection."

Full of enthusiasm, confident of success, Cooke returns to England to work upon his project. He meets with an unexpected difficulty. The silent needle, as the noiseless current sways it, is incapable of calling attention to the message it has to deliver. There must be some means of making a sound signal, or this telegraph is of no use. In this emergency he turns to the electro-magnet, a bar of soft iron under the control of an operator. At a touch, which makes or breaks the electric circuit, now endowed with a power which in many ways may be used for mechanical purposes, now a mass of dead iron. If it could be made to act at a distance, surely here is the instrument he needs, and so, before the end of March, 1836, he has invented his mechanical alarm, the very necessary adjunct to the telegraph. The alarm itself was of ordinary construction, moved by clockwork on the removal of a detent; Mr. Cooke's invention consisted "in placing the electro-magnet in such proximity to an armature of soft iron, attached to the end of a lever detent, that when the magnet was excited the detent was removed from the clockwork, when the magnet ceased to act the detent was replaced in the clockwork by means of a reacting spring or balance weight."

But not only to produce his sound signal had Cooke called the electro-magnet into service. He says: "The principle of removing a detent by magnetic attraction, and replacing it by mechanical reaction, was not, however, confined to the alarm, but, on the contrary, it was the basis of my mechanical telegraph

itself."

In this the swaying needles were replaced by a revolving wheel, set in motion, or stopped, by the magnet, which was thus made not only to draw attention to the message, but to give the message itself. Night and day Cooke worked, not only upon this apparatus, which was completed before the end

^{*} The Electric Telegraph, etc., by William Fothergill Cooke, 1856, 1857, part II; Arbitration papers, pp. 14-15.

of the year, but upon his system generally, and in February, 1837, "had determined to take out a patent for the Practical Electric Telegraph, but deferred doing so for a time in consequence of his meeting with a *single scientific difficulty*." So is stated in the records of an important arbitration, in which he was afterwards engaged, the trouble he had unexpectedly encountered when we find him in this month of March of 1837.

With the details of Cooke's apparatus we have nothing to do. it is this difficulty which he has encountered which concerns us. This "single scientific difficulty," as it is lightly called, is in fact the vital point of the whole affair. It is that the magnet fails to be excited at a distance by the electric current and as the magnet in both systems, whether merely calling attention to the message, or in its double office of giving the message as well as signaling it, is an essential part. Cooke's telegraph is a failure, unless it can be made to act. He says, "I employed myself in trying experiments upon the electro-magnet with a view to discover at what distance an electric current would excite the temporary magnetism required for moving the detent of the mechanism. For this purpose I adjusted about a mile of wire in the chambers of Mr. Lane in Lincoln's Inn." experiments were unsatisfactory. The magnet failed to be excited through that mile of wire.

Thus Cooke comes, just as success seems ready to crown his efforts, to the old difficulty, the failure of the electric force. What does he do in his extremity? Wheatstone tells us:

"I believe, but am not sure, that it was on the 1st of March, 1837, that Mr. Cooke introduced himself to me. He told me he had applied to Doctor Faraday, and to Doctor Roget, for some information relative to a subject on which he was engaged, and they had referred him to me, as having the means of answering his inquiries. . . . Relying upon my former experience, I at once told Mr. Cooke that it would not, and could not, act as a telegraph because sufficient attractive power could not be imparted to an electro-magnet interposed in a long circuit; and to convince him of the truth of this assertion, I invited him to King's College, to see the repetition of the experiments, on which my conclusion was founded. He came, and, after seeing a variety of voltaic magnets, which, even with powerful batteries, exhibited but slight adhesive attraction, he expressed his disappointment." *

^{*} The Electric Telegraph - was it invented by Professor Wheatstone? by W. F. Cooke. Part II, 1856.

Cooke confirms this statement by saying: "It was my inability to make the electro-magnet act at long distances which first led me to Mr. Wheatstone."*

Will the reader notice the date of this distinct annunciation on the part of Wheatstone, that the electro-magnet could not, in a long galvanic circuit, be endowed with sufficient power to act as a telegraph. It is in this very month of March, 1837, in

which Henry has come to London.

Wheatstone had been experimenting sufficiently when Cooke came to him in King's College, to pronounce very confidently on the impossibility of producing mechanical effects at a distance by means of electricity, but he had around his room four miles of wire and this led to a course of joint experiments by the two men to overcome "the single scientific difficulty." Mr. Cooke continues the story: "On many occasions during the months of March and April, 1837, we tried experiments together upon the electro-magnet, our object being to make it act efficiently at long distances in its office of removing the detent. The result of our experiments confirmed my apprehension, that I was still without the power of exciting magnetism at a distance.† We would ask our readers to note very especially all these distinct and repeated admissions of both Wheatstone and Cooke that they fail to produce magnetic effects at a distance, as well as the dates at which these admissions were made.

The magnet thus refusing to act, what do the two men do? Cooke tells us: "In this difficulty we adopted the expedient of a secondary current, which was used for some time in connection with my alarm." And Wheatstone says: "Having convinced myself that it was hopeless to expect to ring an alarm by the direct action of the electric current through a circuit of great length on an electro-magnet as ordinarily constructed, I began to think whether the effect required might not be produced in an indirect manner. It occurred to me that the difficulty would be overcome, if a short circuit, in which the electro-magnet of the alarm and a rather powerful electro-motor, should be interposed, could be completed and broken at will by some action

governed by the current in the long circuit."

And so we find, in this month of March, 1837, the two men working vainly, and England's greatest electricians, with Fara-

^{*} The Electric Telegraph - was it invented by Professor Wheatstone? by W. F. Cooke, part I, page 139.

† The Electric Telegraph, by W. F. Cooke, part I, p. 139.

day at their head, cannot help them. We say vainly, even although the expedient of the secondary current may answer to some extent, for until they can compel the electric current to influence the magnet at a distance, they have not discovered the law which controls the action of one upon the other (see supra, p. 360). Unless this law is discovered, Wheatstone's ingenious expedients, Cooke's mechanical contrivances, are vain, and their dials, bells, and keys will lie useless on their hands. This law unknown, they will find a limit of distance even to the swaying of their needles. This law unknown, electricity is still free. The motive power of the telegraph is wanting, and Barlow, at this time an old man, might repeat almost in triumph his experience in 1825. "I found such a sensible diminution with only two hundred feet of wire as at once to convince me of the impracticability of the scheme." (See page 118, Henry's

place in the Telegraph.)

If England in this year (1837) stands thus in the same attitude in regard to the telegraph as in 1825; if electricity still laughs in exultant freedom in the very faces of her most distinguished men, refusing to be turned into a messenger, we know it has become submissive to a touch under the young hands of Joseph Henry. In every library of note, stood then, as now, the volumes of Silliman's Fournal. Had Wheatstone and Cooke taken down from its shelves the volume for the year 1831, their difficulties would have vanished as the clouds melt before the sun. They would have found there the paper dated January I of that year,* in which Henry gave to the world his means of compelling electricity to produce magnetic power, but these two men knew nothing about them. Faraday had used them when the paper first appeared, and ever since, to obtain the electro-magnetic power he required for his discoveries. Why did he not send Wheatstone and Cooke to the pages which had aided him in obtaining his great results? They would have found in them, not magnets "which, even with powerful batteries, exhibited only slight adhesive attraction," but magnets lifting hundreds of times their own weight with the very minimum of galvanic power; also would they have found there the first combination of magnet and battery, in which the electric current could not fail, and they would have found; too, Henry's distinct annunciation of the necessary law of proportion between the electromotive force of the battery and the length and thickness of the

^{*}This paper contains the work of Henry in 1828, 1829, 1836.

wire of the magnet, words, which if they had read and understood, would have ended their difficulty; and, more than this, the two puzzled men might have purchased in their very neighborhood, from Mr. Clark, the well-known instrument-maker, the magnets which could respond to electric influences at a distance, the only magnets which could do so, Henry's magnets. But, better than his paper, Henry himself was in London for the very purpose of explaining his magnets, and we are now to see what effect he had upon this project of a telegraph, at this

time certainly not a success.

One of the first things Henry encounters as a welcome on reaching London is one of his own magnets. From his book of brief notes let us take a few records: "Arrived in London Friday, March 17, 1837. Stopped at the Bull and Mouth. Spent Saturday in getting lodgings, and on Monday visited the Adelade Gallery. . . . One of the first objects which attracted my attention when I entered the Gallery was one of my magnets, by Marsh of Woolwich. It is formed of a piece of square iron of about the diameter of my first magnet, but the legs are too long and the whole arrangement not proper to produce the greatest effect. It is supported on a tripod. . . . It is surrounded with 10 coils, each 90 feet long, weighs 34 lbs. and supports between 400 and 500 lbs. My small magnet weighs 21 lbs. and supports 1,000 lbs. . . From the Gallery I passed to the shop of Mr. Clark, philosophical instrument . . . Said he had many orders for my magnets and that he always gave them by my name." In his magnets, and also in the fame they and his other researches have won him, does Henry find a pleasant welcome to the great metropolis.

He says in a letter to his wife: "My reception thus far in England has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. Every one I have met has treated me with the greatest kindness and attention. I have as yet delivered but one letter, and believe I could gain access to everything I could wish without further introduction than the mention of my own name." It is on the 31st of March that he first seeks Professor Wheatstone, armed with a letter from Doctor Hare, of Philadelphia—"found him at the music store, No. 20 Conduct street; he is a partner with his brother in the music line; devotes, however, most of his time to philosophical pursuits." Deeply interested is Henry in the

^{*}This was written in the confidence of a home letter. Henry was the most modest of men.

curious stringed instruments which Wheatstone has compelled to give of their sound "by means of a blast of air" in his syren, "by which the vibration of a column of air may be measured"; and when Henry leaves him, interested in the enthusiastic ardor of the man, as well as in his ingenious contrivances, it is to meet him on the morrow (April 1) with Henry's friend, almost brother, Alexander Dallas Bache, who had joined Henry a few days after his arrival in London. The note-book says, "Called with Professor Bache on Professor Wheatstone that

the former might deliver his letters."

Very brief are the notes, but they show us the three men passing the morning in electrical discussion and experiment; studying "the light from the electrical wire," analyzing sparks, now from a battery, now from an electrical machine, etc., and at the close of the day they are again together. "Called this evening at King's College to see Professor Wheatstone." We follow them now with deepening interest, for they are in the room where we left Wheatstone and Cooke in their vain struggle with the electric current. Eager as boys over new toys, they pass from one to another of Wheatstone's ingenious contrivances. They pause to see a goblet measure its own vibrations when made to tremble at the touch of a finger. They see curious means of "measuring the velocity of the electrical current," galvanometers, in which "the coils of the instrument, instead of being placed in the plane of the magnetic meridian, are placed at right angles to it," and so at last they come to the embryo telegraph. We give all the note-book -- very brief in all its record's—says about it:

Professor Wheatstone is now engaged on some experiments relative to the galvanic telegraph, by a number of galvanometers and as many wires. He has suspended four miles of wire around the building and showed us decomposition through this long circuit, with a Wollaston battery of twenty pairs of 4-inch plates. For a conducting wire to be used with his telegraph, he intends to use a small rope or cord, about the size of that used for beds, and to place a wire in the centre or axis of this. The rope, being covered with tar, will be impervious to water and may be used in any situation.

Professor Wheatstone has a method of communicating force to a distance by means of the electrical wire. His project is the following: A long wire gives motion to the galvanometer needle, placed at the further end of the route, and this swings against two pins, which are connected with the wires of an electro-magnetic magnet, which is thus set in action. The plates are immersed in diluted acid and are amalgamated so that no action,

or very little, takes place until the circuit is completed.

A battery of several pairs will be required to be attached to the magnet on account of the imperfect connection formed by the needle and the pins: I was surprised to see that Professor Wheatstone, in making his experiments, took no precaution relative to good metallic contact and that he did not even scrape the wires or amalgamate the ends.

And so they stand together over the telegraph: the man striving after it; the man with whom for years it has been a fact accomplished; the man to whom the magnet, "even with powerful batteries, exhibited only slight adhesive attraction"; the man who has found no limit to the power he could give it; the man who does not know the laws which control the relation between the projectile force and resistance of the elements of the electric circuit; the man who has discovered them; the man who declares that electricity cannot be made to work at a distance; the man who can prove himself then and there, should he choose, its master. Surely it is a matter of deep importance to Wheatstone, this interview, and, through Wheatstone, to England. Is there nothing more to tell us what passed between the two men? An incidental reference we have, in some testimony given on oath by Henry, when called into court on account of some rival claims in telegraph matters, testimony confirmed by Professor Bache. We give it:

In February, 1837, I went to Europe; and early in April of that year, Professor Wheatstone, of London, in the course of a visit to him in King's College, London, with Professor Bache, now of the Coast Survey, explained to us his plans of an electro-magnetic telegraph; and, among other things, exhibited to us his method of bringing into action a second galvanic circuit. This consisted in closing the second circuit by the deflection of a needle, so placed that the two ends projecting upwards, of the open circuit, would be united by the contact of the end of the needle when deflected, and on opening or breaking of the circuit so closed by opening the first circuit, and thus interrupting the current, when the needle would resume its ordinary position under the influence of the magnetism of the earth. I informed him that I had devised another method of producing effects somewhat similar. This consisted in opening the circuit of my large quantity magnet at Princeton, when loaded with many hundred pounds weight, by attracting upward a small piece of movable wire, with a small intensity magnet, connected with a long wire circuit. When the circuit of the large battery was thus broken by an action from a distance, the weights would fall, and great mechanical effect could thus be produced, such as the ringing of church bells at a distance of a hundred miles or more, an illustration which I had previously given my class in Princeton. My impression is strong that I explained the entire process to my class before I went to Europe; but, testifying now, without the opportunity of reference to my notes, I cannot speak positively. I am certain of having mentioned in my lectures every year previously, at Princeton, the project of ringing bells at a distance, by the use of the electro-magnet, and of having frequently illustrated the principle of transmitting power to a distance to my class by causing, in some cases, a thousand pounds to fall on the floor by merely lifting a piece of wire from two cups of mercury closing the current.

The object of Professor Wheatstone, as I understood it, in bringing into action a second circuit, was to provide a remedy for the diminution of

force on a long circuit. My object, in the process described by me, was to bring into operation a large quantity magnet, connected with a quantity battery in a local circuit by means of a small intensity magnet and an intensity battery at a distance.

Is this all we have of this interesting interview? Surely it is enough. As under a flash of light, suddenly, out of darkness, objects stand revealed, to be lost again in a moment in the shadows of night, so is the glimpse the brief record gives us; but just as clearly as in that rapid flash we see the objects it reveals, so in this short paragraph we see what passed between Wheatstone and Henry. Let us look into it. We see, in the first place, that at this time in Wheatstone's apparatus the magnet, proved incapable as first used, has been already provided with its second circuit, and it is naturally this magnet and its circuit which attracts Henry's attention especially. He says, "I informed him (Wheatstone) that I had devised another method of producing effects somewhat similar." Somewhat similar! How modest this seems in view of the power Henry has been able to give the magnet, and the inefficient instrument it has proved to be in Wheatstone's hands. Then we see Henry, true to his high purpose of giving freely to the world whatever Nature might reveal to him, explaining to Wheatstone his experiments, showing him the sensitive intensity magnet receiving the distant influence from the intensity battery; and the stronger quantity magnet brought into play by the quantity battery. This, we can distinctly see, was set before Wheatstone. Think how eager Wheatstone is to make his telegraph! How astounding to him Henry's results with that electro-magnet which he has found so inefficient! How daring Henry's faith in what he can accomplish with it at a distance! What is the quantity magnet? What the intensity magnet? What is their connection between their different batteries? We can imagine the inevitable questions, and the fullness with which Henry, as eager in his success as Wheatstone in his want of success, answers. The actual words that were said, it is not necessary to know. It is enough to know what the paragraph distinctly tells us they talked about: That Henry, on the 1st of April, 1837, gives Wheatstone information, which, if he understands it, will restore the disgraced magnet to the place it first held and make a success of this telegraph, at present not a success.

We cannot suppose that this was the only time the subject was discussed, many an opportunity had Henry to explain his researches to Wheatstone. He says, in a letter to his brother, Stephen Alexander, dated April 10, "Mr. Wheatstone has spent nearly a week with Professor Bache and me, in going over his interesting experiments on the velocity of electricity, and also inducting me into the mysteries of the late discoveries in We find constant mention of Wheatstone's name in the visits Bache and Henry pay to the eminent men of England, Faraday, Roget, Daniell, Babbage, etc., who receive Henry with open arms. On the 22d and 24th of April, all of the men above-mentioned are collected in Wheatstone's room, in King's College, to witness an experiment by Henry, the obtaining a spark by thermo-electricity, the first time that spark has been seen in England. On the 10th of May, Henry leaves London for Paris, so that six weeks have passed since that first April day, when the two men first stood together over the telegraph; six weeks, in which they dined and breakfasted, visited men and places of interest, discussed philosophical matters and experimented together, and very much at home does Henry feel, when he at last has to leave that old King's College, where Daniell has placed his laboratory at his service.

Henry has come and gone. How interesting it is now to go back to King's College, and see what effect his visit has had upon Wheatstone and Cooke working at their telegraph. Will they go on making their clever mechanisms for giving and receiving the messages, while the messenger is still untamed? Wheatstone should now know how to control it; if, with his ready wit and clear mind, he has understood what Henry has told him, and the telegraph should now be a success. Let us follow its fortunes, remembering always it is only with the magnet and the electric current that we have to do. Only when Wheatstone can compel the one to call the other into action at a distance, as Henry has done, and has showed him how to do, will this telegraph of England be to any extent a possi-

bility.

It is on the 10th of May that Henry leaves London; about the same time Wheatstone and Cooke enter into a regular partnership, and a month later, that is June 12, they take out their first patent. In this short time, a month, has Wheatstone been able to verify by experiment Henry's results? Has the magnet been restored to its original position in the telegraphic apparatus since Henry has given to Wheatstone the clew to its control? No. The patent is for the telegraph as Henry saw it in Wheatstone's room, with the magnet in its short circuit. It

has a measure of success. Henry, on his return to England for a few days thus casually speaks of it:

August 2, 1837—Called the same day on Mr. Wheatstone—has been much engaged with the galvanic telegraph—has succeed thus far beyond his anticipations; can ring a bell at the distance of thirteen miles, and transmit any intelligence through a current of that length. Experiments were making at the railway works—thirteen miles of wire—terminations in different buildings. I am to receive a more detailed account of the whole when I return.

In spite of these thirteen miles, there is still difficulty; that second circuit is found to be very inconvenient and of very uncertain action. "The secondary circuit never answered well," Cooke says (The Electric Telegraph, by W. F. Cooke, p. 165, part II). Still refractory is the magnet, even accommodated with an extra battery and a short wire. Cooke discards it to substitute the direct blow of the needle. In this condition a second patent is taken out and the telegraph is, in the following year, 1838, at last practically introduced on the Great Western Railway, and works again through thirteen miles, between Paddington and West Drayton, to signal coming and going trains.

The magnet occupying no longer even its easy place in the second circuit, but absolutely discarded; does this look like Has Wheatstone failed to understand Henry's discoveries? No, but many an experiment is requisite before he can make these results his own. It is Cooke who is engaged in the practical business of setting the immature telegraph to work on the railway. If we wish to know what Wheatstone is doing, we must seek him in his room in King's College, and there we find him busy with researches. Cooke did not meet Henry. He does not know what new light Wheatstone has had upon the matter of such deep interest to both; he does not know what Wheatstone is doing. And what are these in-As we might conclude, the discarded magnet is their object, and with what result? We have let the two men hitherto tell much of their own story, let us still. Of no consequence to Wheatstone is it that Cooke has discarded that expedient of the "secondary circuit" for he can now restore the magnet to its old position. He says of the "secondary circuit" "it has lost its importance since my discovery that electromagnets, may be so constructed as to produce the required effects by means of the direct current even in long circuits. Previously, however, to this discovery it appeared of great consequence." The result of these investigations, carried on thus independently of Cooke, is, then, contrary to the repeated assertions of Wheatstone and Cooke, that the electrical current cannot produce magnetic effects at a distance. We see in this assertion of Wheatstone that the great power of electricity lies at last conquered under his hands, as under Henry's; but the words, my discovery.—how they stand out before our surprised eyes. We

know well this is no discovery of Wheatstone.

"Certain reasons," he says, "induced me, instead of communicating every improvement and useful suggestion to Mr. Cooke, as it occurred to my mind, as I had hitherto been in the habit of doing, to carry out my future investigations alone, and to inform him only of the final results when obtained. After this resolution had been taken, I commenced a series of researches on the laws of electro-magnets, and was fortunate enough to discover the conditions which had not hitherto been made the subject of philosophical inquiry, by which effects could be produced at great distances. This rendered electro-magnetic attraction for the first time applicable in an immediate manner to telegraphic purposes. I then proceeded to inquire how the principles I had ascertained could be prac-The result was a variety of new instruments tically applied. and apparatus."

If these words tell us exactly what Wheatstone has been doing since Henry left London, how astonishing is the repeated assertion, that in these researches he has discovered "the conditions by which effects could be produced at a distance," "conditions NOT HITHERTO made the subject of scientific inquiry," . . "magnetic attraction" in them "for the first time applicable to telegraphic purposes." Wheatstone was only verifying Henry's discoveries made years before, and distinctly explained to Wheatstone by Henry himself only a few weeks before, and while Henry's magnets, which could respond to electrical influence at any distance, and which made the telegraph a possibility, here as elsewhere, were selling in the immediate neigh-

borhood.

But let us go on with our story. Wheatstone tells us "his discovery," as he calls it, resulted in "new instruments," and in speaking of these, he says:

But the most important point of all was my application of the theory of Ohm to telegraphic circuits, which enabled me to ascertain the best proportions between the length, thickness, etc., of the multiplying coils and the other resistances in the circuit, and to determine the number and size of the elements of the battery to produce the maximum effect. With this law and its applications no person who had before occupied themselves with

experiments relating to electric telegraphs had been acquainted. (Page 91, part II.)

This theory of Ohm had no influence upon Wheatstone's researches until after his interview with Henry. When Henry saw him in London he knew nothing about it. He had failed entirely in his researches with the electro-magnet. The reader has seen how very clear were his repeated assertions of its in-

ability to act at a distance.

A theory is a dream, a supposition. It suggests what may be; proves nothing. If evolved from carefully digested principles, it enables the scientific enquirer to approach Nature with intelligent questions, not at random. It may or may not be true. A discovery finds out that something actually exists; it may be a simple fact; it may be a great law, such as this which controls the electric circuit. Separated by thousands of miles of sea and land, Ohm conceived his theory, Henry made his direct actual discovery, entirely independently of each other. Ohm worked out his idea mathematically and also experimentally. It was laughed at and despised, and was only now, in the year 1837, beginning to attract attention. When Henry stood looking at Wheatstone's unsuccessful telegraph, he knew nothing of the theory. We find him inquiring again and again before leaving home, who is Ohm and where is his theory to be found? Wheatstone we have fully seen knew nothing of it. It was not Ohm who had come to Wheatstone's aid, and sent him back with new faith to the despised magnet. It was Henry bringing his quantity and intensity magnets and the laws of the electric circuit under Wheatstone's acute eyes.

Curiously now we look at Wheatstone's new instruments. They are his old instruments it would seem, only with this important difference, that the disgraced magnet, restored to favor, again holds its place in them; or, rather, to state the case more correctly, in the place of the inefficient instrument Wheatstone and Cooke tried to use is *Henry's intensity magnet* which will not refuse to act in a long circuit. Information of "the new effective instruments" comes to Cooke's ears. He says:

About (p. 34, part II) the month of June, 1839, while engaged in my practical labors, I accidentally heard, through a scientific channel, that Professor Wheatstone had invented some new instruments . . . some months afterward, early in November, 1839, he showed me his new instruments.

Before showing the instruments, Wheatstone demands that he shall have the exclusive right of manufacturing them; that his name alone shall be put upon them, and that he shall have the privilege of introducing his discovery into private use on account of its applicability to other purposes beside telegraphing. Cooke continues:

His separate privileges having been conceded, Professor Wheatstone showed me his instruments. Much as I admired the elegance of their form, I was astonished to perceive in them, not the new and original invention I had been led to expect, but an improved reproduction of my mechanical arrangements.* . . I cannot but think it would have been better and more correct if he had said that he applied to instruments and apparatus, based upon principles and mechanical arrangements I had imparted to him, a discovery attained by those researches on the laws of electro-magnets to which I had directed his attention two years before. . . It appears to me that it would have been better if, on his having solved the scientific difficulty, which I had submitted to him, he had immediately informed me of his success, and had thus, whilst himself applying his discovery in his own way to his own "combinations," left it open to me also to perfect my mechanical instruments, which had been lying neglected for want of it.

The mechanical contrivances of the old and new instruments may or may not be the same, it matters not, what is important is, that the "scientific difficulty," in which lies the vital principle of the affair, has been met. The control of the messenger has been obtained; electro-magnetic effects can be obtained at a distance, the telegraph must now be a success. The messenger secured, Wheatstone's and Cooke's clever means of delivering the messages cannot fail. Cooke applies the new principles to his old apparatus, Wheatstone and Cooke add improvements; a third patent is taken out in 1840, but it is not until 1845 that the first public line was opened between London and Gosport. The first matter telegraphed was the Queen's speech on the opening of Parliament, which was received by Mr. Cooke himself, at the rate of 1,800 letters an hour.

My story draws to a close. I would not know so much about the affair were it not for rival claims which sprang up between the two men with regard to their separate contributions to the telegraph. The matter was settled by arbitration, from the records of which have been taken my quotations. The arbitrators were Sir Isambard Brunel and Professor Daniell, and the substance of the award, rendered April 27, 1841, was:

That Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph as a useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance; and Professor Wheatstone is acknowledged as the scientific man, whose profound and successful researches have already prepared

^{*}The improvement being the introduction of Henry's magnets.

the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application. (The Blectric Telegraph, etc., by W. F. Cooke, part I, p. 59.)

This decision is well for Mr. Cooke, but for Wheatstone "the successful researches," which rendered "the project capable of practical application," were but verifications of Henry's discoveries. Wheatstone, except for the patient labor which verified the discovery of another, is left out in the cold. place assigned him in this decision is Henry's place. "scientific difficulty" which had made not only this project, but every project of the telegraph, before Henry's researches, from the earliest time downward, impossible, viz., the failure of the electro-motive force through any extent of wire, was solved, not by Wheatstone in 1837-38, but by Henry in 1829-30. In answer to Wheatstone's distinct claim that he, at the time mentioned, first dicovered the conditions that conquered the difficulty, it is sufficient to refer the reader to Silliman's Journal, to Henry's paper of January 1, 1831; and to any claim that, if not the first, Wheatstone might still be an independent original discoverer of these conditions, we have that paragraph, given incidentally by Henry on oath, and corroborated by Professor Bache, who, as a regent of the Smithsonian, caused this evidence to be republished in the Smithsonian Report (1856), a paragraph which shows us distinctly Henry placing his magnetic system under Wheatstone's eyes in April, 1837, when Wheatstone has distinctly and repeatedly asserted his inability to produce magnetic effects at a distance.

Significant Facts. Before Henry reaches London, before he stands with Wheatstone over that apparatus in King's College on the 1st day of April, 1837, the telegraph of England is a failure, because the electro-magnet cannot be endowed with sufficient attractive force in a long circuit. Distinct and repeated are the admissions of this difficulty, and baffled by it stand not only Wheatstone and Cooke, but Faraday and Peter Mark Roget, as we have said, England's greatest electricians. After Henry has come and gone; after that deeply-interesting interview of March 31, 1837, and the subsequent six weeks of close communion with all these men, the electro-motive force in a long circuit no longer fails to effect the magnet—the telegraph of England is a success. Henry has, with his own hands, as it were, placed his intensity magnet, with its subtle susceptibility to distant electric influences, as well the law to which it owes its

existence, in the network of the telegraph destined to cover not only England, but all Great Britain.

It is not pleasant to take from one brow the laurels which have graced it to place them upon another, as in this case it seems my duty to try to do. I would like to dwell upon the valuable work of this ingenious experimenter, Wheatstone, in other matters; on the beautiful instruments he had made at this time and on the many contributions to the telegraph for which afterwards England was his debtor, but this may not be. Is there any greater gift to the world than the telegraph? A line in one of Mrs. Browning's poems, a description of a lovely woman, occurs to me.

"It was thinking of others made us think of her,"

and it is with such a plea, that I draw, from out the shadows which self-forgetfulness and modesty threw over it, Henry's claim to the essential principles of this gift, first introduced practically into use at this time; and if, Old England, you think this laurel is taken from one of your children to give it to an alien, you are mistaken. From Someled of Skye was descended the race from which Henry's mother came, and his father was also a native of Scotland. In the same ship both his parents sailed from Ayrshire for America. So near in descent, surely Henry may be considered a child of Great Britain. But there should be no dividing lines to indicate countries in the maps of the world of science. Henry says, in one of his letters, "My birthplace was Albany, but I would say with the distinguished founder of the Smithsonian Institution, 'The world is my country and all men are my countrymen.'"

Henry says of his researches: "I never attempted to reduce these principles to practice, or to apply any of my discoveries to processes in the arts. My whole attention, exclusive of my duties to the college, was devoted to scientific investigation and I left to others what I considered, in a scientific point of view, of subordinate importance, the application of my discoveries to useful purposes in the arts," and, he adds afterwards, "the only reward I ever expected was the consciousness of advancing science, the pleasure of discovering new truths, and the scientific reputation to which these labors would entitle me." As, on his return voyage, he goes back to the telegraph in his college home, ready for six years to be taken up and introduced into commercial use, he feels deeply impressed with the importance of bringing it out of the lecture room and

into the world for the good of man. He determines that, immediately on landing, he will prepare a communication for Congress, announcing that science had been for some time ripe for the telegraph, and calling for competitive modes of apply-

ing it to practical purposes.

The distinction should here be kept clearly in mind between the systems of magnets and batteries, constituting the means of producing action at a distance, and the mechanical contrivances to which this system may be applied; the one is really the telegraph, the others only instruments, which may be used by the telegraph. Henry had given the system, it was complete; he was not thinking of it when wishing to hand it over to the world of mechanics, but of the many and various instruments to which it might be applied, other than his simple contrivance to use it as a telegraph. It was ready to print, write, do anything required of it, but Henry's sound signal was found the best.

When Professor Morse, in 1833, on board the Sully had his first conception that electricity could be used as a means of communication, he thought he was the first to have this idea, when it was as old as the time of Franklin, and the telegraph, already complete, was sending its messages to and fro—exactly as it does now—over the College grounds in Princeton. It had been making its sound signals at this time for three years. His little note-book is in the National Museum in Washington; the drawings in it of the magnet he proposed to use, are of the Sturgeon magnet, the only electro-magnet in existence. When, in 1827, he had gone abroad, he did not know with that instrument a telegraph was impossible. Let us seek him in 1836; he is at this time a professor in the University of New York. He thus describes his apparatus:

My first instrument was made up of an old picture or canvas frame fastened to a table; the wheels of an old wooden clock, moved by a weight to carry the paper forward; three wooden drums, upon one of which the paper was wound and passed over the other two; a wooden pendulum, suspended to the top piece of the picture or stretching frame, and vibrating across the paper as it passes over the centre wooden drum; a pencil at the lower end of the pendulum, in contact with the paper; an electro-magnet fastened to a shelf across the picture or stretching frame, opposite to an armature made fast to the pendulum. A type rule and type for breaking the circuit, resting on an endless band, composed of carpet-binding, which passed over two wooden rollers, moved by a wooden crank, and carried forward by points projecting from the bottom of the rule downward onto the carpet-binding; a lever, with a small weight on the upper side, and a tooth projecting downward at one end, operated on by the type, and a metallic fork also projecting downwards over two mercury-cups, and a short

circuit of wire, embracing the helices of the electro-magnet connected with the positive and negative poles of the battery and terminating in the mercury-cups. When the instrument was at rest, the circuit was broken at the mercury-cups; as soon as the first type in the type-rule (put in motion by turning the wooden crank) came in contact with the tooth on the lever, it raised that end of the lever and depressed the other, bringing the prongs of the fork down into the mercury, thus closing the circuit; the current passing through the helices of the electro-magnet caused the pendulum to move and the pencil to make an oblique mark upon the paper, which, in the meantime, had been put in motion over the wooden drum. The tooth in the lever falling into the first two cogs of the types, the circuit was broken when the pendulum returned to its former position, the pencil making another mark as it returned across the paper. Thus, as the lever was alternately raised and depressed by the points of the type, the pencil passed to and fro across the slip of paper passing under it, making a mark resembling a succession of V's. The spaces between the types caused the pencil to mark horizontal lines, long or short, in proportion to the length of the With this apparatus, rude as it was, and completed before the first of the year 1836, I was enabled to and did mark down telegraphic intelligible signs, and to make and did make distinguishable sounds for telegraphing; and, having arrived at that point, I exhibited it to some of my friends early in that year.

This complicated arrangement, not to be compared in effectiveness with Henry's simple phonetic device, is only an instrument to receive and record a message of a telegraph, if such is received. We look in vain through the long description for some notice of the galvanic system employed to bring the electrical influence from a distance. We are told only that the circuit is short. What is the success of the instrument? It has made intelligible signs with this short circuit, but when this circuit is increased by the addition of forty feet of wire, it does not work. Among the friends to whom he has shown his instrument is Professor Leonard G. Gale, also a professor in the University. Professor Morse applied to him in this difficulty, and the following letter tells the cause of the trouble, and how it was overcome:

Washington, D.C., April 7, 1856.

SIR: In reply to your note of the 3d instant, respecting the Morse telegraph, asking me to state definitely the condition of the invention when I first saw the apparatus in the winter of 1836, I answer: This apparatus was Morse's original instrument, usually known as the type apparatus in which the types, set up in a composing stick, were run through a circuit breaker, and in which the battery was the cylinder battery, with a single pair of plates. This arrangement also had another peculiarity, namely, it was the electro-magnet used by Moll, and shown in drawings of the older works on that subject, having only a few turns of wire in the coil which surround the poles or arms of the magnet. The sparseness of the wires in the magnet coils, and the use of the single-cup battery, were to me, on the first look of the instrument, obvious marks of defect, and I accordingly suggested to the Professor, without giving my reasons for so doing, that a battery of many pairs should be substituted for that of a single pair, and

that the coil on each arm of the magnet should be increased to many hundred turns each; which experiment, if I remember aright, was made on the same day with a battery and wire on hand, furnished, I believe, by myself, and it was found that while the original arrangement would only send the electric current through a few feet of wire, say fifteen to forty, the modified arrangement would send it through as many hundred. Although I gave no reasons at the time to Professor Morse for the suggestions I had proposed in modifying the arrangement of the machine, I did so afterwards and referred in my explanations to the paper of Professor Henry in the 19th volume of the American Journal of Science, page 400 and onward.

At the time I gave the suggestions above named, Professor Morse was not familiar with the then existing state of the science of electromagnetism. Had he been so, or had he read and appreciated the paper of Henry, the suggestions made by me would naturally have occurred to his mind as they did to my own. My suggestions were made to Professor Morse from inferences drawn by reading Professor Henry's paper above alluded to. Professor Morse professed great surprise at the contents of the paper when I showed it to him, but especially at the remarks on Doctor Barlow's results respecting telegraphing, which were new to him, and he stated at the time that he was not aware any one had even conceived the idea of using the magnet for such purposes. With sentiments of esteem, I remain yours truly

I. D. GALE.
PROFESSOR JOSEPH HENRY, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

We see, through this letter, that Professor Morse is at this time employing the very magnet which he was sketching on board the Sully; the Sturgeon magnet long ago proved wanting in the matter of the telegraph.* The battery employed is a quantity battery of a single pair of plates, which Henry has shown incapable of action at a distance. Professor Morse has but tried the experiment Barlow tried in 1825, with like results with these inefficient instruments; he has encountered, as was to be expected, the old obstacle, the decrease of electrical force with increase in the wire of the conductor. Henry does not personally come to his aid, but his papers do. Professor Gale is taken into partnership as scientific adviser for the application of Henry's principles; the result is an immediate improvement; the instrument makes its marks through ten miles Morse's recording machine has been attached to Henry's system of producing action at a distance. That machine can now be made to act at any distance; but has Mr. Morse on that account invented or discovered the telegraph? No; the at-a-distance part of the affair is not his, it is Henry's; all that Morse has invented is a local instrument, a type recorder, which can be used by the telegraph, but is in no way essential to it.

^{*}Professor Gale calls it "the magnet used by Moll," but his description of the instrument shows it to be the Sturgeon magnet. Moll's magnets were as incapable of action at a distance, but were more closely wound.

The success of the telegraph now secured, at least for a distance of ten miles, Morse carried his instruments to Washington, presented a memorial to Congress petitioning for means to carry out his project, made steps toward securing a patent, and to obtain the same in the Old World sailed for England May 16, 1838. In spite of those ten miles, he still has misgivings as to the ultimate success of his enterprise. On his return to New York, he wrote a note to Henry, which elicited the following reply. Henry had borrowed from Professor Gale, one of the long coils of wire (five miles long) for experiments on induction, now so important in the new form of telegraphing, and Professor Morse's note was in answer to one from Henry, acknowledging and sending thanks for the use of the coil.

New York, April 24, 1839.

My DEAR SIR: On my return, a few days since, from Europe, I found directed to me through your politeness a copy of your valuable "Contribu-

tions," for which I beg you to accept my warmest thanks. I was glad to learn, by a letter received in Paris from Doctor Gale, that a spool of five miles of my wire was loaned to you, and I perceive that you have already made some interesting experiments with it. In the absence of Doctor Gale, who has gone South, I feel a great desire to consult some scientific gentleman on points of importance bearing on my telegraph. I should be exceedingly happy to see you, and am tempted to break away from my absorbing engagements here to find you at Princeton. In case I should be able to visit Princeton for a few days, a week or two hence, how should I find you engaged? . . . I have many questions to ask, but should be happy in your reply to this letter of an answer to this general one: Have you met any facts in your experiments thus far which would lead you to think that my mode of telegraphic communication will prove impracticable? . . . I think that you have pursued an original course of experiment, and discovered facts of more value to me than any that have been published abroad. I will not trouble you at this time with my questions, until I know your engagements. Accompanying this is a copy of a report made by the Academy of Industry of Paris, on my Telegraph, which I beg you to accept.

Believe me, dear sir, with the highest respect,
Your most obedient servant,
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

This is Henry's answer:

PRINCETON, May 6, 1839.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 24th ultimo came to Princeton during my absence, which will account for my long delay of my answer. I am pleased to learn that you fully sanction the loan, which I obtained from Doctor Gale of your wire; and I shall be happy if any of the results are found to have practical bearing on the electrical telegraph. It will give me much pleasure to see you in Princeton, after this week; my engagements will not then interfere with our communications on the subject of electricity. I am acquainted with no fact which would lead me to suppose that the project of the electro-magnetic telegraph is impracticable; on the contrary, I believe that science is now ripe for the application, and that there are no difficulties in the way, but such as ingenuity and enterprise may obviate. But what form of the apparatus, or what application of the power, will prove

best, can, I believe, be only determined by careful experiment. I can say, however, that so far as I am acquainted with the minutiæ of your plan, I see no practical difficulty in the way of its application for comparatively short distances; but if the length of the wire between the stations be great, I think that some modification will be found necessary in order to develop a sufficient power at the further end of the line. I shall however be happy to converse freely with you on these points when we meet. In the meantime, I remain, with much respect,

Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH HENRY.

Doctor Prime says of this visit, "A few days after receiving Professor Henry's kind invitation, Professor Morse went to Princeton, and, passing the afternoon and evening with the great philosopher, returned the next morning to New York." (Prime's Life of Morse, chap. x, pp. 421-422.) This was not Henry's first interview with Professor Morse. He made his personal acquaintance in the chemical store of Mr. Chilton, Broadway, New York, shortly after his return from Europe. He says: "Mr. Morse subsequently visited Princeton several times to confer with me on the principles of electricity and magnetism, which might be applicable to the telegraph. I freely gave him any information I possessed."*

The college campus is beautiful; it must have looked well in the early green of its spring attire, on that May day when Morse first went to Princeton to find Henry. "I freely gave him any information I possessed," Henry says, and we can imagine him showing his apparatus in the Philosophical Hall: the long wire circuit around the room and stretching under the trees and across the grounds to his residence; in this circuit the intensity battery of many plates and the magnet of a long fine coil. He explains why this is the only combination which can give distant action, and rings with it the metal sounder he has substituted at this time for a bell; then he shows the quantity circuit, with his great magnet of many coils, in connection with its quantity battery, and piling weights upon its scale shows how much it can lift, until it sustains 3,600 pounds. How astonishing to Morse's surprised eyes this exhibition; the only magnet he has known is the Sturgeon magnet, turned by Professor Gale's application of Henry's principles into the magnet which has acted through his ten miles of wire and which he is by no means sure may not still fail him. Then Henry shows how the tremendous power of this quantity magnet can be brought into action at a distance; this magnet and battery, as

^{*} Smithsonian Report, 1856.

Henry has shown, have no power in themselves to act beyond the limits of the room, but Henry causes the magnet in the intensity circuit, when it has received the distant influence, to open the quantity circuit in the manner which has been described,* and the magnet lets its great load fall. Surely Professor Morse may feel that his fears for the future of his enterprise are groundless when such power can be produced at a distance by electro-magnetism. Henry shows also that the wire he uses from his house to his philosophical room is single, that the return current is carried through the ground, for, although Steinhall has done this, it was, as we have said, done first by Henry in this campus. Then, perhaps, Henry sends a signal to Mrs. Henry and soon Sam, Henry's colored servant, comes across the grounds, bearing a basket of refreshments (a mode Henry used frequently to exhibit the action of his telegraph). Henry has still to show his experiments in induction, so far ahead of his time, but want of space forbids mention of them here.

What were Professor Morse's thoughts when he saw the telegraph thus perfected and learned that it had been in action for three years before he first thought of a telegraph; and Henry's simple device for producing sounds, does he see how much better this is than his cumbersome arrangement? He returns to New York; his doubts dissolved, it is with his type machine he continues his enterprise. Morse has now not only Professor Gale as partner to apply Henry's principles by study of his paper, Henry himself is not far away, to give aid, sympathy, encouragement; again and again Morse comes to Princeton, and in exactly five years from his first visit, that is in the latter part of May, 1844, the experimental telegraph line is completed from Washington to Baltimore.

What Morse was doing in those five years does not concern our story; it belongs to the history of the *introduction of the telegraph*, a matter entirely distinct from the discovery and invention of the telegraph, with which we have had to do. Every one knows how difficult it is to introduce into public use any new thing; to introduce the telegraph was a tremendous undertaking; the years passed by Professor Morse in that discouraging labor should never be forgotten. Morse, the introducer of the telegraph in America, should always be held in honor by

his grateful countrymen.

^{*} See p. 129, August number of THE CONSERVATIVE REVIEW.

Let us look again at his instrument, which constitutes his sole claim to be the discoverer or inventor of the telegraph. It is only a local apparatus for receiving and recording the messages of the telegrapher. The typew.iter with which this article was copied might place itself beside this typewriting machine of Professor Morse and say: "There is nothing more in you than in myself to produce action at a distance; it was to your position you owed your distinction; were I placed in that wonderful magical galvanic circuit, as I very easily could be, I could do exactly the same work of recording telegraph messages, even more effectively, and could make as just a claim for the man who made me." This typewriting machine of Professor Morse constitutes his only claim to be the inventor or discoverer of the telegraph. TIME HAS ANSWERED THE CLAIM; THE MACHINE WAS LONG AGO DROPPED OUT OF THE TELE-GRAPH AND THE TELEGRAPH HAS GONE ON BETTER WITHOUT

Let us now look at the telegraph, as, in 1898, it sends a message around the world. Whose are the magnets: the one of a long, slender, continuous fine wire, in correspondence with an intensity battery of many plates; the other, the powerful magnet of thick and many coils, which must have for its companion a quantity battery? Henry's. Who connected the magnets with their especial batteries, and showed the different action of the two circuits, the intensity, and the quantity? Henry. Who opened one circuit by means of another for a relay or local circuit? Henry. Look at the recording or receiving apparatus; whose is that device of hitting a metal sounder by means of a moving bar attracted by the arms of the magnet? Henry's. What else is there essential to the telegraph? Nothing. The batteries? Henry did not give these, but he gave them their proper places in the telegraph; he united them to their respective magnets, and discovered their especial characteristics. What is there of Professor Morse in the telegraph? Nothing; the instrument he made, not essential to the telegraph, has been dropped out of it, and Henry's simple phonetic device has taken its place. The alphabet, that most valuable adjunct to the telegraph, is his; but that is not the telegraph. Whose, then, is the telegraph?

WILLIAM SCHWENK GILBERT

By ROBERT MARTIN BRUNS

HARLES MATTHEW'S dictum, that "Nobody goes to the theatre to be improved. Everybody goes to be amused," is rather a sweeping one, but on the whole one must admit its general truth. But, true or not, in the middle of the century which is nearly ended, British stage-managers had come to Matthew's way of thinking, and were flooding the theatrical market with opera bouffes, burlesques, and variety shows of every description, some good, but mostly bad. The Crimean campaign occurring at this time, England's theatres were overrun with plays of the vulgar clap-trap order, which this country has just experienced. "Why spend money to get good plays, or new music," argues the astute manager, "when the sight of a marine and Tommy shaking hands under the colors will draw a larger audience?" And so the British lion roared, the flags waved, and soldiers and sailors embraced each other to weariness, while the patriotic audience filled the house with their plaudits, and the manager's purse with their shillings.

To reform affairs at this low ebb would seem a Herculean task. But as Sir Walter came gallantly to Elizabeth's rescue with his cloak, so did his kinsman* spread the mantle of his wit over these pools of low buffoonery and senseless vulgarity, and lead his chosen mistress to a cleaner and more wholesome footing. For it was only a question of a few years before audiences, not only in England but America as well, were laughing

at the quaint conceits of William Schwenk Gilbert.

His keen satire and ready wit, ever free from anything bordering on coarseness, took the fun-loving world by storm. But though he fought his battles armed with the Jester's bladder, he never lost sight of the seriousness of the conflict, as witness his words in regard to his collaboration with Sir Arthur Sullivan: he says, "When Sullivan and I first determined to work together, the burlesque stage was in a very unclean state.

^{*} Sir John Otho Gilbert married Sir Walter Raleigh's sister.

We made up our minds to do all in our power to wipe out the grosser elements, never to let an offending word escape our characters, and never to allow a man to appear as a woman and vice versa.*" Simple tenets to which he adhered throughout his life's work.

Gilbert evinced his talent for writing at an early age. While at school at Ealing, he not only wrote plays, but acted them, and in one instance, a play on Guy Fawkes, probably inspired by the Ealing fogs, he painted a number of complicated scenic effects. He also captured prizes in English, Greek, and Latin verse, laying a substantial foundation for what was to come. He took his B. A. at the University of London and commenced reading for the Royal Artillery, but the Crimean war coming to an end, he left the army for the bar. During this time his pen had not been idle. He had written no less than fifteen plays before he was twenty-four. That none of them were accepted is hardly strange for, horresco referens, he introduced in one play eighteen scenes, four cataracts, and a . . But though his plays met with such house on fire! ill success, he had his first article accepted at twenty-two. This was a translation of the laughing song from Mannon Lescant, and was written for Madame Parepa Rosa, then singing in Alfred Mellon's promenade concerts, famous in London at that time. Speaking of this, his first literary success, Gilbert says: "I remember I went night after night to those concerts to enjoy the intense gratification of standing at the elbow of any promenader who might be reading my translation, and wondering to myself what that promenader would say if he knew that the gifted creature who had written the very words he was reading was at that moment standing within a yard of him. The secret satisfaction of knowing that I possessed the power to thrill him with the information was enough, and I preserved my incognito."

Fun, a periodical afterwards made famous by Tom Hood's poems and sketches, was started at this time by H. S. Byron, and to it, in 1861, Gilbert submitted a three-quarter column article and a half page drawing on wood. He received next day a request from the editor to contribute one column of copy and a half page drawing every week "for the term of his natural life." He was seized with an unreasoning fear that he was unable to

^{*} In the *Princess*, Hilarion, Cyril, and Florian disguise themselves as women. But, as the disguise consists of collegiate gowns, this can hardly be cited as a violation.

execute the commission. He writes: "I was empty. I had exhausted myself. I did not know any more. For it seemed to me that in that short article I had poured out all I knew." This fear that he had written himself out was a bogey that haunted him continually in later years. He accepted the offer, however, and shortly after left the bar, for which he never had any natural aptitude. Freed from the trammels of the law, he now devoted himself to literature exclusively, and wrote frequently for the current periodicals of the time.* It was at this time that he commenced to write the famous Bab Ballads, which soon gained him a widespread popularity, and afterwards proved the source of inspiration for many of his operas.

Space will not permit of a full treatment of these delightful ballads of topsy-turvydom. Their humor is keen, light, and wholesome, their spirit innocent and exhilarating. At times they seem to move with the swing of a Thomas Ingoldsby and again they remind us, in their more sombre movement, of Tom Hood. Haunted is a poem in subject and treatment most closely resembling Hood, and one of which he would have no cause to be ashamed. But the majority of these inimitable catches are Gilbertian entirely. In this world of his creation, all the inhabitants seem mad. They accept each other's unsubstantiated statements without a question. Witness General John and Private James, Paley Vollaire, and Frederick West. It is always the unexpected that happens, the illogical sequence is ever to be looked for. Yet logical argument is one of their chief weapons. But even logic, in their hands becomes a wierdly strange thing. Take, for example, the cogent dialectics of Lord B., when Messrs. Pond and Morell ask him to declare his intentions with regard to their daughters:

> Said B., "I will give you my bond I mean them uncommonly well, Believe me, my excellent Pond, And credit me, worthy Morell.

"Its quite indisputable, for I'll prove it with singular ease. You shall have it in 'Barbara' or 'Clarent' which ever you please.

"You see, when an anchorite bows
To the yoke of intentional sin—
If the state of the county allows,
Homogeny always steps in—

^{*}Cornhill, London Society, Tinsley's, Temple Bar, and Punch; he also furnished London correspondence to the Invalide Russe.

"It's a highly æsthetical bond,
As any mere ploughboy can tell—"
"Of course," replied puzzled old Pond.
"I see," said old Tommy Morell.

"Very good then," continued the lord;
"When it's fooled to the top of its bent,
With a sweep of a Damocles sword
The web of intention is rent.

"That's potent to all of us here,
As any mere schoolboy can tell."
Pond answered, "Of course, it's quite clear
And so did that humbug Morell.

"Its tone's esoteric in force—
I trust that I make myself clear?"
Morell only answered, "Of course,"
While Pond slowly muttered, "Hear, hear."

"Volition—celestial prize,
Pellucid as porphyry cell—
Is based on a principle wise."
"Quite so," exclaimed Pond and Morell.

"From what I have said you will see
That I couldn't wed either—in fine,
By Nature's unchanging decree
Your daughters could never be mine.

"Go home to your pigs and your ricks, My hands of the matter I've rinsed." So they take up their hats and their sticks, And, exeunt ambo, convinced.

Who but Lord B. could argue in this wise, and who but Pond and Morell would be convinced by such an argument? It is such delightful fooling as this that charms old and young readers alike. . . Before leaving the Ballads a word must be said of the drawings which accompany them, and lend half the charm to the work. Their whimsical oddness, their grotesque humor, cannot be conveyed by any description; they must be seen to be enjoyed. They are rendered the more entertaining by the author's constant references to them in his verse. As in Sir Macklin:

"The hundred and eleventh head,
The priest completed of his stricture;
Oh, bosh!' the worthy Bishop said
And walked him off as in the picture."

So also in Thomas Winterbottom Hance:

"The mothers were of decent size
Though not particularly tall.
But in the sketch that meets your eyes
I've been obliged to draw them small,"

And again in The Lost Mr. Blake:

"Here he is making his wife carry water for her bath to the second floor, and much against her inclination.

And why in the world the gentleman who illustrates these ballads has put him in a cocked hat is more than I can tell."

But much of the general compass of the idea is missed in considering detached bits. It is only by reading them in toto that these ballads of "much sound and little sense" can be properly appreciated. An important event in Gilbert's life was the production in 1866 of Dulcamara; or, The Little Duck and Great Quack, a burlesque on L'Eliser d'Amore. It was produced at the St. James with Frank Matthews in the leading role. This play was written in six days, rehearsed the following week, and ran for one hundred and twenty nights.* The night of its first production Gilbert invited friends to supper to celebrate the occasion. Referring to this, he says: "The play succeeded, as it happened, and the supper finished the evening appropriately enough, but I have since learnt something about the risks inseperable from every first night, and I would as soon invite friends to supper after a forthcoming amputation at the hipjoint." He next produced a play entitled Allow Me to Explain, followed by a burlesque on La Figlia del Reggimente, called The Virandière, or True to the Corps, On the day of its production Gilbert received a large package which, on being opened, proved to contain tickets for twenty-four dress circle seats, twenty-four upper box seats, and twenty-four pit seats. On inquiry he found that this was the author's nightly perquisites of all plays produced at the Haymarket. A survival of the old days when dramatic writers were paid in part by tickets. This play and another, The Merry Zingara, a burlesque on the Bohemian Girl, achieved great success.

It was during this period that he wrote a number of prose stories, afterwards published in book form, under the title of Foggerty's Fairy, and Other Tales. These, with one exception, are far below the standard set by the author's verse, but are interesting, as some of them were the rude drafts of subsequent plays. Foggerty's Fairy was acted under that title at the

^{*}Gilbert sold this play for £30. Mr. Edwards, manager of the St. James, while writing the check, said: "Mr. Gilbert, take the advice of an old stager who knows what he is talking about. Never sell as good a piece for £30 again." And Gilbert naively remarks: "I never have."

Criterion.* An Elixir of Love was the basis of the Sorcerer and Creatures of Impulse, The Wicked World, and Comedy and Tragedy, are here found in their original forms. It is surprising to see what good plays resulted from such poor beginnings. The exception noted above, however, comes as a grateful relief to the reader of these tales. It is entitled Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and throws an entirely new light on "the melancholy Dane." The meeting between Ophelia and Rosencrantz, who had been child sweethearts, is worthy of perpetuation. In part it is as follows:

Enter Ophelia.

ROSENCRANTZ

"Ophelia!" [Both embrace.]

OPHELIA [delighted and surprised]—
"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern!

This meeting likes me much. We have not met

ROSENCRANTZ-

Since we were babes." "The Queen has summoned us

And I have come in a half-hearted hope

That I may claim once more my baby love!" OPHELIA- "Alas, I am betrothed!"

"Betrothed? To whom?"

ROSENCRANTZ-

OPHELIA- "To Hamlet." "Oh, incomprehensible.

ROSENCRANTZ-

Thou lovest Hamlet?" OPHELIA-"Nay. I said not so,

I said we were betrothed."

"And what's he like?" GUILDENSTERN-

OPHELIA- "Alike for no two seasons at a time.

Sometimes he's tall—sometimes he's very short. Now with black hair—now with a flaxen wig. Sometimes an English accent-then a French. Then English with a strong provincial 'burr.' Once an American and once a Jew,

But Danish never, take him how you will. But strange to say whate'er his tongue may be. Whether he's dark or flaxen — English — French.

Though we're in Denmark, add—ten—six—two He always dresses as King James the First.''

GUILDENSTERN

"Oh, he is surely mad!"

OPHELIA-

"Why, there again, Opinion is divided. Some men hold That he's the sanest far of all sane men. Some that he's really sane, but feigning mad; Some that he's really mad, but feigning sane; Some that he will be mad, some that he was; Some that he couldn't be. But on the whole (As far as I can make out what they mean), The favorite theory's somewhat like this: Hamlet is idiotically sane With lucid intervals of lunacy."

^{*} Failed lamentably.

Gilbert's next play, a burlesque on Robert le Diable, met with a fair degress of success, but nothing like that which greeted the appearance of a burlesque on Tennyson's Princess, This created a perfect furor, and ran for two hundred and thirty nights at the Haymarket; Buckstone and the Kendalls taking the leading parts. Those whom a parody on Tennyson may strike as nothing short of sacrilege, should desire some consolation from the thought of what a very different reception it might have met had it fallen in any other hands than those which treated it in such a delicate and witty manner.

Pygmalion and Galatea succeeded this at the Haymarket and ran for the same period.* That its popularity was well deserved, no one can doubt on reading the following excerpt,

which is perhaps Gilbert's best work in this vein:

GALATEA-

"And not long since I was a cold, dull stone! I recollect That by some means I knew that I was stone: That was the first dull dream of consciousness; I became conscious of a chilly self, A cold immovable Identity. I knew that I was stone, and knew no more! Then by an imperceptible advance, Came the dim evidence of outer things Seen darkly and imperfectly, yet seen. The walls surrounding me, and I, alone, That pedestal - that curtain - then a voice That called on Galatea! At that word-Which seemed to shake my marble to the core, That which was dim before, came evident. Sounds that hummed around me indistinct Vague, meaningless, - seemed to resolve themselves Into a language I could understand-I felt my frame pervaded by a glow That seemed to thaw my marble into flesh. Its cold hard substance throbbed with active life My limbs grew supple and I moved - I lived -Lived in the ecstacy of a new born life! Lived in the love of him that fashioned, Lived in a thousand tangled thoughts of hope."

GALATEA— "Love, gratitude—thoughts that resolved themselves
Into one word—that word, Pygmalion."

But Gilbert was not content with past successes achieved, and *The Happy Land*, inspired by *The Wicked World*, which preceded it, gained the author fresh laurels.† This

^{*} It was in this play that Miss Kendall won unfading laurels. † The Happy Land was originally written by Gilbert, at Mrs. Bancroft's request, for private acting on Ash Wednesday. The theatricals fell through, but the play was bought by Miss Littleton after being rewritten by Gilbert in collaboration with Guilbert à Becket.

play attracted more than its share of attention, owing to the fact that it caricatured certain leading statesmen of the time.* And its production was subsequently forbidden by the Lord Chamberlain on that ground. Charity, the author's next play, did not meet with the success it merited. Mrs. Grundy dubbed it coarse and indelicate, and it was withdrawn from the Great Expectations, which followed it, is worthy of notice on account of the reception it met with at the hands of the Licenser of Plays. In one part Magwitch, the returned convict, had to say to Pit: "Here you are in chambers fit for a Lord." The MS. was returned with "Lord" struck out and "Heaven" substituted in pencil! Graviora quædam sunt

remedia periculis.

Although Gilbert wrote a number of plays† after the production of Great Expectations, none of them attained much popularity until Thespis, or the Gods Grown Old, was written in collaboration with Sir Arthur Sullivan. This and the Trial by Jury, produced shortly after, were the precursors of the famous Gilbert and Sullivan operas, known in England as the Savoy operas.‡ Trial by Jury was originally written for Fun; but seeing the success which greeted Thespis, Sullivan turned it into a cantata. It was produced at the time that the Tichborn claimant was the central figure in England, so imagine the reception which the play met on the first night of its production, when each actor, laboring under the delusion that he had hit on an original make-up, the stage appeared crowded with impersonations of Dr. Kenealy, the Tichborn champion! These plays, as stated, were the forerunners of those joint productions of author and musician, which were destined to make them famous: Committed for Trial, The Sorcerer, H. M. S. Pinafore, Pirates of Penzance, Patience, Iolanthe, The Mikado, Rnddygore, Yeomen of the Guard, and The Gondoliers, have been whistled alike by sweepers on the Strand and newsboys on Broadway. It is here that we have the unexpected pleasure of seeing those queer people from the land of Bab, as well as hearing them. Captain Reese, Little Buttercup, and Lieutenant Belaye in Pinafore, the Reverend Hopley Porter in

for their production.

^{*} Lowe, Ayrton, and Gladstone.
† In this period Gilbert wrote Ages Ago, No Cards, Island Home,
Happy Arcadia, Eyes and No Eyes, Randall's Thumb, Creatures of Impulse, Sweethearts, and Dan't Druce.

So called from the Savoy theatre built by Mr. D'Oyly Carte expressly

Ruddygore, Georgie, the fairy curate, in Iolanthe, and a score of other familiar Babonians (if we may be allowed to coin the word) delight us with their queer actions. Nor at times is the author chary of borrowing whole speeches from Bab and putting them in the mouths of his characters. Compare the following, from Iolanthe:

LORD CHANCELLOR [sternly]—

"Recollect yourself, I pray,
And be careful what you say—
As the Ancient Romans said, festina lente
For I really do not see,

How so young a girl could be The mother of a man of five-and-twenty."

Strephon— "My lord, of evidence I have no dearth— She is—has been—my mother, from my birth."

With the Fairy Curate in Bab:

"Who is this, sir— Ballet Miss, sir?" Said the Bishop coldly.

"'Tis my mother And no other," Georgie answered boldly.

"Go along, sir!
You are wrong, sir;
You have years in plenty.
While this hussy.
(Gracious mussy!)
Isn't two-and-twenty!"

At times one character will appear in half a dozen different plays. As, for instance, the old woman pew-opener in the Sorcerer. She is also the bum-boat woman in Pinafore, the hand-maiden Ruth in the Pirates of Penzance, and again the principal fairy in Iolanthe. Or take the charming Katisha (adapted Captain Reese in the Bab Ballads), she first appears in the Sorcerer as Mrs. Partlett engaged to the vicar. In the same play she is repeated as Lady Sangazure in pursuit of Wellington Wells, while in Pinafore she flirts with Captain Corcoran and in Patience she lavishes her unwelcome love on the unfortunate Bunthome.

In these plays we recognize the same childlike simplicity which marks the conduct of the characters in *Bab*. In *Pinafore*, no sooner does Buttercup explain how she mixed the babies up, than Captain Corcoran appears as a common sailor while Ralph enters in full captain's uniform. So also in the *Pirates*

of Penzance, Frederick, who has been apprenticed to the pirates until his twenty-first birthday, determines on attaining his majority to quit his criminal career; but when informed that as he was born in leap year, on the twenty-ninth of February, and is consequently only a little over five and a half years old, he accepts this decision as final and irrevocable without a murmur. This seems rather a literal interpretation, but no more so than the following bit in Pinafore: "Captain," says Dick Dead Eye, "I have come to give you warning." "Indeed," replies the Captain seriously, "do you propose to leave the Navy then?" Gilbert, to borrow a trope from mathematics, seems to put his people in a space of four dimensions, and then makes them act as if it were nothing out of the usual. Note the seriousness which marks all his character's doings, the extreme earnestness with which the most absurdly far-fetched requests are made, and the equally absurd reservations with which they are granted. One of the incidents in Ruddygore is a good example of this. Here we have an amiable and virtuous man, Sir Ruthven, whose tenure of life and wealth depends on his committing one crime a day: He is bad much as the maidens in Patience are love sick, "love sick all against their will." In one scene, Sir Ruthven's ancestors, thinking him remiss in the performance of his criminal duties, descend from the pictures on the wall, and the old Baronet proceeds to catechize his undutiful descendant: "What villainy," he asks, "did you perform on Monday?" Sir Ruthven protests that the question is unfair as Monday was a Bank Holiday.

Of Patience, Pinafore, and The Mikado, it is hardly necessary to say much. The mere mention of their names is the "open sesame" to many pleasant memories. Yet as these are Gilbert's most noted successes, they must be considered more in detail. In Patience, Gilbert ridiculed the prevailing spirit of aestheticism which was then sweeping over England; how well he succeeded need not be said. But he had been anticipated in this field, by a play called The Rovers, or The Double Arrangement, which struck the keynote Gilbert afterwards elaborated. In the prologue to this play we find the following

witty lines:

"Oh, fine false feeling, hail!
Thou bads't non-natural nature to prevail.
Through thee soft super-sentiment arose
Musk to the mind, like civet to a nose,
'Till fainting taste, as invalids do wrong —
Sniffed the rich perfume and grew weakly strong."

The extract which follows is very much in the spirit of *Patience*. The scene is a room at an inn in Weimar—Matilda wants dinner, but Cecilia, the landlady, tells her she must wait for the Brunswick wagon.

MATILDA: "Oh, Casimere, how often have the thoughts of thee served to amuse these moments of expectation! What a difference, alas, dinner! It is taken away as soon as over, and we regret it not. It returns again with the return of appetite. The beef of to-morrow will succeed to the mutton of to-day, as the mutton of to-day succeeded to the veal of yesterday. But when once the heart has been occupied by a beloved object, in vain would we attempt to supply the chasm by another. How easily are our desires transferred from one dish to another. Love only—dear delusive love, restrains our wandering appetites and confines them to a particular gratification."

Patience seems to follow very closely in the footsteps of The Rovers, the tone of both being tonic rather than drastic. In the sub-title of Patience, "Bunthom's Bride," we have another bit of the author's exquisite fooling. For not until the end of the last act do we discover that Bunthom has no bride. yet, following Gilbert's reversed methods of reasoning, this was to be expected, for in his world nothing is certain but the unforseen. The Mikado, the chef-d'œuvre of the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership, is truly a masterpiece of its kind. Nothing is left to be desired, either in libretto or score. The idea was suggested to Gilbert by a huge Japanese executioner's sword which hung over the fireplace in his library.* Mr. Grossmith, as Ko-Ko, carried this very sword during the play. Here Gilbert's humor in great part depends on the incongruity of words and gestures. Who but he would conceive the notion of making Japanese nobles (of all races the most dignified) dance a hornpipe? The Mikado, Ko-Ko, Katisha, Pooh-Bah, and the rest, are the best creations of Gilbert's fancy. To praise one is to do an injustice to the others. We gaze on these strange creatures spellbound, while they weave themselves into such a tangled web of intrigue, that only Gilbert himself could ever extricate them. And yet in his hands it is simplicity itself. "It is like this," Ko-Ko says, "When your Majesty says, 'Let a thing be done'-practically it is done-because your Majesty's will is law. Your Majesty says, 'Kill a gentleman,' and a gentleman is told off to be killed. Consequently that gentleman is as good as

^{*}The Yeomen of the Guard was due to a similar chance suggestion. In this case, the beef-eater, which served as an advertisement of the Tower Furnishing Company, at the Uxbridge Railway Station, was "the first great cause."

dead—practically, he is dead—and if he is dead, why not say so?" As the Mikado says, "Nothing could possibly be more satisfactory." As the inhabitants of Titipu captured America, so did England strike her colors to the redoubtable *Pinafore* under the joint command of Captain Corcoran and the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Porter, K. C.B. Here again the influence of the *Bab Ballads* is strongly exerted; and as Strephon's speech is borrowed from Georgie, so does Captain Corcoran take a leaf from the log-book of Lieutenant Belaye, of the *Hot Cross Bun*, to whom Poll Pineapple (Little Buttercup) says:

"I am sorry to say that I've heard that sailors sometimes swear, But I never yet heard a Bun say anything wrong, I declare. When Jack tars meet, they meet with a 'Messmate, ho! What cheer?' But here on the Hot Cross Bun it was 'How do you do, my dear?' When Jack tars growl, I believe they growl with a big, big, D—, But the strongest oath of the Hot Cross Bun, was a mild 'Dear Me!'"

Captain Corcoran's version is as follows:

"Bad language or abuse,
I never, never use,
Whatever the emergency,
Though 'bother it' I may
Occasionally say,
I never, never use, a big, big D——."

Sir Joseph is Captain Reese advanced to the rank of a K.C.B. Not only is he unchanged in his efforts to transplant to the Pinafore those methods he employed so successfully to beautify the crew of the saucy Mantle piece, but also in his female relatives, his sisters, and his cousins, and his aunts. The plot of course is the same as the *Baby's Vengeance*.

A characteristic bit of Gilbert's humor is connected with this play. It seems that one of the ladies connected with *Pinafore* company, wrote to Gilbert announcing her approaching marriage. Gilbert sent a congratulatory note and dismissed the affair from his mind. But it was recalled in the course of a few weeks by the arrival of a second letter, bearing the intelligence that the engagement with number one had been broken off and that she had accepted another suitor. He replied that he had every confidence in her good judgment and again expressed his good wishes for her welfare. Only a short time elapsed before he was made the recipient of another communication, bidding for his congratulations for number three, number two having proven no more fortunate than his

predecessor. This was too much for the author and he wrote: "I desire to congratulate you on your approaching marriage with——" Here he placed an asterisk and added in a foot-

note: "Here insert the name of the happy man."

In 1892 while *The Gondoliers* was running at the Savoy, a rift appeared in the lute, which widened to such dimensions that the famous partnership was dissolved.* After a lapse of nearly two years, however, author and composer were reconciled, and *Utopia* (*Limited*) and *The Grand Duke* resulted. With their production came the end of the Savoy operas. Neither proved successful, not because of any inferiority to their predecessors but probably because the British public had become familiar with Gilbert's peculiar humor and Sir Arthur's tuneful strains. In all probability, had either of these two operas and one of their former successes, been produced in a reverse order the result would have been the same. But all the well wishers of the famous partners were glad that the final curtain fell after their happy reunion, and not during their separation, for this was the one and only cloud which darkened the brightness of their success.

Gilbert's fame as a dramatist must rest chiefly with this generation, rather than with the coming ones. For though succeeding years will benefit by the elevation of the burlesque, yet the operas to which this result is directly due, will soon become mere shadowy phantoms of the past. For Gilbert shot folly as it flew, the ephemeral follies of to-day born on May-fly wings, and though much of the humor of his operas will always be enjoyable, much of it will soon be unintelligible to the ordinary theatre goer. One must have lived in the times that gave birth to these operas to enjoy them fully. The Bab Ballads, however, are not open to this objection. Their interest does not depend on any particular foible of the time, and it is on these that Gilbert must base his claims as a litterateur. At present, at least in this country, the Ballads are read by few, appreciated by fewer, yet to let them die would be to lose much that is worthy of highest praise. What will be the final verdict regarding them must be left to the future to decide. If, however, this short sketch may serve to introduce them to some

^{*}During their unfortunate estrangement Gilbert wrote The Mountebanks to music composed by Cellier, while Mrs. Grundy supplied Sir Arthur with a play called Haddon Hall. As might have been expected, the result in both cases was disappointing.

new reader, to open an untrodden field, in which he may wander without fear of the morbid or unwholesome, then this has not been written in vain. To such an one we may say in the paradoxical words of Dan'l Druce: "Weigh these words well, and store them away in the museum of thy mind, for they are rare words—containing, as they do, truth commingled with wisdom, which is an observable union, as these qualities consort but rarely together: for he hath no wisdom who tells the plain truth, and he hath no need to tell the plain truth who hath wisdom enough to do without it."

I. ZANGWILL

By HAMLIN GARLAND

It is now some ten years since the quaintly egotistic signature "I. Zangwill" first began to attract the eyes of American readers. The name was new in every sense. There may have been other Zangwills in England, but the world knew nothing of them when this man, with pen uplifted, said, "I. Zangwill hereupon claim new territory and enter the ranks of those who

live by their wits."

Month by month the signature won notice by falling at the bottom of columns of witty writing in comic weeklies, and acquired distinction at the top of stories in staid British monthlies. It came to be recognized as the pen-name of a man of resource and of varied interests. His humor appealed to those who found British fun "stodgy," and with a smaller number Mr. Zangwill came at last to be known as a fearless and fecund novelist, a delineator of the modern Jew. In response to growing interest in this personality, American readers were told that "I. Zangwill" stood for Israel Zangwill, a real person, a young Jewish writer who lived in London, who had fought his way from the poverty and black obscurity of the London Ghetto to an honorable place in English letters.

Curious tales concerning him were brought back to America by travelers. He was said to be the homeliest man in England, tall, thin, shock-headed, absent-minded, yet intellectually alert, loaded to the tips of his teeth with epigrams, a warrior against shams, a dangerous antagonist and a loyal friend. He was called a merciless critic, but his generous welcome of good work corrected this impression. His books began to be published in America. The Premier and the Painter, an early book, was pirated, and there appeared in rapid succession The Bachelors' Club, an amazing piece of foolery, The Children of the Ghetto (a tremendous study, great in every sense), The Master, and The Old Maids' Club, a companion piece to The Bachelors' Club. Without Prejudice, a

volume of essays, was regularly brought out by *Harpers*, and at last, in 1898, *The Dreamers of the Ghetto*, and the Ghetto's young dreamer, the author and his latest book, appeared to-

gether on our shores.

He came to lecture and to see America. He appeared before a New York audience with a paper on The Drama containing the criticisms he had been penning for several years, the truths we all knew, but had not the same power to utter, and then all America became aware of Zangwill. The noise of the critical fusillade has only just died away. It was wonderful. It made the Spanish war a stale drama for the time. The noise of the shouting of the commissaries grew dim—Zangwill and the art of writing a play became an issue instead. Reporters swarmed upon him, but they did not annoy him—they amused him and spread his heretical remarks.

He was challenged to write a drama and show the critics how it should be done. He set to work and a truce was declared till such time as the play should be produced. So much the literary world knows of Zangwill, but the reading public should know more of this man, for America will be called upon to hear many dramas and to read many stories and poems from his pen. He has returned to New York to put *The Children of the Ghetto* on the stage, and I take this opportunity of giving a

short biography of the man.

Israel Zangwill is not yet thirty-five years of age. His father was born in Russia, his mother in Poland. Each came, in childhood, by a different road to England. They met and were married in London. The elder Zangwill was a moderately successful artisan, who stained glass windows among other odd jobs. He lived for a short time after his marriage in the Minories near the Mint and the riverside in London, and Israel was born there. The future novelist soon wanted a change of air and so—

"At the age of eight days I left for the provinces taking my parents with me. I spent some years at Plymouth by the sea, later on removed to Bristol. My earliest recollections are of the sea, therefore, and not of London—though these infant observations were overlaid by my Ghetto experiences of a few years later."

For ten or twelve years the elder Zangwill made a precarious living at his trade among the small towns of England. Other sons were born to him—Mark and Louis; and as they grew to school age he returned to London in order that they might have the advantage of the free parish school in the Ghetto. He

wished his elder son to become a Rabbi, for Israel already gave promise of being a remarkable scholar—he read "by intention" almost before he could walk and the father was con-

vinced of his son's great natural abilities.

Israel was eight years of age when he reëntered Londona quaint, pale, curly-haired boy with a big head set insecurely on a slender body. He was at the right age precisely for observing everything and forgetting nothing. For several years he attended the Jewish free school in "the Ghetto." The family moved to a suburb during his tenth year, but he still continued to come and go along the crowded busy streets of the Jewish quarter, which then, as now, lay east of St. Paul's Cathedral, in the region bounded by Aldgate, Shoreditch, White Chapel, and Houndsditch. It was never purely Jewish, and was a "Ghetto" merely as a figure of speech. It was composed of low solidly-built brick houses, fronting on roughlypaved streets, wherein, of a Sunday, fishmongers and oldclothes dealers swarmed. Its school, a barrack-like structure, stood on one of the narrow side streets, and its old synagogue, though handsomely decorated within, was kept exceedingly plain, of deliberate purpose, in order to escape notice. The people themselves asked merely to be left at peace with their poverty and their "word of the law." They were a serious people for the most part, careful householders, and industrious tradesmen, with few drunkards or dissolutes among them.

Among these citizens, mixing with the swarms of women and children and hucksters on Sunday morning, or sitting in the dimly-lighted synagogue listening to the chanting of the law, Israel laid the foundations of his literary conscience. At the age of nine he wrote an essay which distinguished him among his fellows, and a little later he attracted the attention of Lord Rothschild, who expressed a wish to send him to public school and university. The boy refused. "I knew in some mysterious way that I would not fit in with such environment. I knew that I was to write and I wished to be free," Zangwill

said, in speaking of this period.

At sixteen he became both author and publisher by writing a story and going into partnership with another youth in its publication. The usual arrangement held. Zangwill did all the writing and half the publishing and got only one-quarter the profits. The Jews were scandalized by the realism of this young novelist, and he was politely requested not to write, or at least not to publish, any more sketches of that sort. He

continued to write, but that ended his publishing for many

long years.

At seventeen he became a teacher in the parish school, continuing his studies, reading by night quite in the Abraham Lincoln manner—barring the pine-knot. He made a point of winning all the prizes to hand, and ultimately the degree of B.A. at the London University with high honors. When about twenty years of age he made a strong protest against certain injustices in the school and became involved in a controversy with the heads thereof. The decision went against him and he resigned to take a much harder and poorer-paid position in another school.

He turned naturally to journalism to help out his slender salary and began to write for various papers and at last became editor and founder of a comic weekly paper called Ariel. He had already published The Premier and the Painter, which did very little for him either in royalties or fame as it was published under an assumed name. Three years later he printed The Bachelors' Club, which at once gave him standing and brought to him many offers of employment. Literary London began to hear of I. Zangwill, and his remarkable vein of "new humor," but it did not take him seriously till the publication of his Children of the Ghetto, and Grandchildren of the Ghetto. Then discerning ones began to say, "Here is another great novelist, analytic, humorous, sympathetic, and broadly intellectual, who has come out from among his people to tell us of their follies, faiths, heroisms, tragedies, virtues, and ideals." The tragic dreamers of the tribe of Israel had found their poet and novelist.

The Jews, those secretive, bigoted, intense, long-suffering, and deeply reverent people, did not all welcome him. They had sought for centuries to escape notice, to avoid the eyes of unfriendly critics. It was bad enough to have the "Gentile" writing of them, but to have a man of their own blood, a Jew of the Jews (and a man of admitted power) writing with a pen of fire concerning their innermost dreams and tragedies and sacred ceremonials was to every one an amazement and to many a terror. They could not understand how any good could come of it. The old men wagged their long beards in doleful prophecy of the shame to fall upon them all. But the more progressive, being more acute as well as less fanatic, said: "See, this man is loyal. He gives all sides of Hebrew character. He delineates our follies, but he also puts in our virtues.

He has not forgotten the poetry of our faith. He will do us good and not harm. He is truthful and unsparing, but he is gentle and helpful. He has conserved all the splendid traditions of Israel. Nothing is really lost out of his books. He turns the light on the Jew precisely as Meredith and Hardy direct the light into obscure places in Gentile life. We are a part of modern civilization and cannot hope to escape criticism. It is better to listen to this young man than to go on with eyes and ears shut to the great changes going on around us."

Zangwill's acceptance by English critics as a great writer of both Jewish and English fiction was quick and cordial, the Jews also have come, but much more slowly, to take just pride in their latest (and perhaps greatest) intermediary between the Ghetto and the English-speaking world. In America especially, this young Hebrew has an almost reverential following. As I sat in the great chapel in Chicago, crowded with rich and powerful Jews who listened with most intense interest to his simplest word, I thought of the mighty power which Zangwill was coming to possess. The Jewish church of to-day needs a prophet, and the Hebrew a leader. In the midst of violent reactionary discussions, quixotic dreams of "rebuilding the Nation," the voice of one who realizes the inexorable march of human history must certainly have immense influence. Zangwill may become a great leader, he is already, in a sense, a prophet. The great opportunity for the Jews lies West and not East, and the upbuilding of Zion lies in their adaptation to new environments.

Walking the streets of London with Zangwill I found him to be one of the best known and most generally recognized men in English public life. Everybody knows the tall stooping figure in the soft small hat and cape overcoat. To tread a crowd with him is to perceive the faces of people in the street light up with a smile and to hear the whispered words, "There's Zangwill." In a crowd at the International Art Gallery, in the swarming Strand, or in Piccadilly, the large, plain, kindly face, the thick curly hair, the peculiar shuffling walk distinguish him to hundreds. Men and women stop him to say, "You don't know me, but I know you. I've just read," etc. For all his keen wit and gift of sarcasm he is of a kindly nature and listens patiently to those laborious compliments, though a sly gleam in his big black eyes betrays his humorous preception of the speaker's folly. It was observable that the brightest and handsomest women are surest of an audience with him. His taste is excellent.

Of his amazing wit the reading world is aware, but those who know him intimately, alone know how spontaneously he utters his quaint comments. An actress said to him, "I'm glad you like my work." To this he instantly replied, "But I thought you were playing for me." At another performance which was very bad, a boy presented a "souvenir" of the performance. "No, thank you, I wish to forget it as soon as possible," he said in his softest voice. His eyes are almost always agleam with some humorous thought. His wit is kindly and his humor boyish.

His personal acquaintance is very wide and among all classes of people. He is perpetually dining out with dramatic and artistic folk—with an occasional formal dinner in some great house, where the footman removes his overcoat with solicitous care lest it fall to pieces in his hand. He enjoys these trips into London, he imagines Kilbourn to be in the country. He is not fatigued by the varied dinners, "at homes," and informal parties to which he is invited, and seems to work all the better for a meeting with congenial folk.

The Zangwill family at present consists of the mother, three sons, and two daughters, all keenly alive to art and letters. Mark, the second son, is an artist, and Louis, who has used the signature "Z. Z.," is a strenuous and exceedingly able critic, and a novelist as well. The daughters are reserved in the presence of strangers, but have not a little of the felicity of phrase which has made their brother famous. They all live together in a modest brick house in a suburb of London, called Kilbourn. Hampstead Heath is not far away, and the brothers often walk or ride out to the green slopes.

Zangwill finds any city intolerable for any length of time, and "the beast of things," as he calls London, sees him only when he has special business calling him there. He likes Paris better than any other city. It is to him the most cosmopolitan and central of all cities, and its people (notwithstanding their hatred of the Jews) interest him exceedingly. "Paris is an organism," he said; "every street, no matter where it runs, is a part of Paris."

His manner of life is frugal. He eats simple food and uses wine judiciously. His study is a plain, bare room, overlooking a commonplace little street of brick houses. He likes old furniture, and writes at a big table much the worse for wear,

and usually hopelessly littered with papers—except when his women-folk get a chance at it. Order is not one of Zangwill's first laws, and to see him looking for a pair of cuffs or a necktie is a rememberable thing. He shuffles about, kicking heaps of clothing over the carpet, pouring out a stream of muttered comicalities which convulses the lucky on-looker, and when he is dressed to go out his room looks like the scene of a burglary, and as he surveys the ruin he asks his host whether it were not cheaper to burn the heaps and start afresh.

He is a most singular and interesting personality. If he walks, he stumbles along, talking rapidly, but calmly, and in a low voice, on most recondite subjects, seeing nothing, apparently, and yet escaping drays, buses, cars, with most amazing skill. His brothers, who are both exceedingly alert and very definite young men, say they used to worry about him when on the streets alone, but they have come now to believe that he is gifted with some unaccountable sixth or seventh sense which enables him to cope with any crush or tumult. At any rate, he is quite whole of limb after nearly thirty years of London. As a writer, Zangwill gives the impression of immense resource. In The Premier and the Painter, and in The Children of the Ghetto, one feels the press of boundless material which the writer could not entirely restrain. They are like sheaves of grain blown by the winds of fancy. In The Grandchildren of the Ghetto and in The Master, the artist has acquired greater mastery of his material. Several of the books are like unpruned hedges, much too long, and not always expressed in the "inevitable phrase." There is a tendency to over-elaboration in his humor, as in The Bachelors' Club, an amazingly comic book. As the reader finishes the first chapter, he thinks, "Well, this must end here. No human being can keep this up,"—but he does, almost to the end—but even his amazing fancy began to fail at the last.

The Big Bow Mystery was written as a sort of joke. To fill a "want" in the London Star during the hot weather, he spun the story of a murder which could not have been committed by anybody and then proceeded to charge it in succession upon every person remotely connected with the dead man. "Ultimately I was forced, by the shrewd guesses of contributors, to fix the crime on the one man who had not been suspected," he said, in explanation of the

book.

It was an admirable travesty of the novel of plot and is full of Zangwill sayings, as when the poet, being "stumped" to explain why the literary man wore long hair, replied:

"There are three reasons. First, he likes it that way;

second, it's cheaper; third, he forgets it's growing."

This is his lighter side. When the critic comes to consider The Master he finds himself in the presence of a really great novelist-not a Jewish novelist, but a man to be considered with Thomas Hardy and George Meredith. Personally, I avoided reading the book for the reason that the first third of it was a study of Nova Scotian lite, which Zangwill had never seen, and my opinion of him as the author of the Ghetto stories was so high I was loath to see him falter. However, I found little to apologize for. The experiences of Matthew Strang are used as background with immense significance all through the story, and with truth to all essentials. The psychology of the man is set forth on right lines, and when, in the final chapter of the story, the austerity and wholesome striving of those early years is set over against the essential littleness and vacuity and heartlessness of the art-world into which the Canadian youth had drifted, the reader apprehends the man as well as the novelist in the author.

Zangwill is essentially wholesome and right. Life with him is not a dance, a game—it is serious business. By this I do not mean to say that he is a gloomy man—he is quite otherwise, but his aim is not to entertain nor to be entertained. He has a phase of human life to present, and all his Ghetto stories are sad—many of them are tragic. His plan is to write alternately on Jewish and Gentile life—for he is not merely a Jew, he is a young man, a modern of the moderns, concerned with all that consumes or diverts English and American men of his generation. He is in a sense the historian of the Jewish people, the custodian of their traditions, but that is only one side of him. On the other is a Parisian and an American, a

democrat and a realist.

He is at his best in *The Dreamers of the Ghetto* and in *The Master*, for in these books both sides of his serious self find utterance. There is the loftiest poetry in *The Dreamers*—in the story of "the name" and bitterest tragedies (and marvelous novelistic skill) in the studies of Heine and Ferdinand LaSalle, while in *The Master* the young man of to-day, with his aspirations, bitternesses, dangers, and despairs, finds fullest expression.

These two books could not have been written by any other living man.

The mystery and the mastery of his race is in Israel Zangwill. He has far-reaching perspective. His mind is not simple, it is enormously complex, and the wealth of his inherited experiences he has not yet realized himself. The larger part, and perhaps the finer part of his work is done sub-consciously as his imagination lays hold of material deeply buried beneath his personal experiences and acquirements. It is hard in these practical days to be a leader to any nation or race—but Zangwill may yet come to be the most widely trusted intel-

lectual teacher of the Jews.

As I write, the preparations for a drama delineating *The Children of the Ghetto* gives further evidence of his many-sided genius. It may be that he is to put the real Jew on the stage and to further influence the world to rise above race prejudice. According to his plan his next big book must be a novel of contemporaneous English life quite free from Ghetto types. It must be a truly great book to follow *The Master* and *The Dreamers of the Ghetto*. His feet are on the ladder, we expect him not to descend but to mount. At thirty-five his work is hardly begun.

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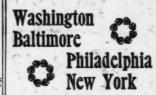
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